

The TRUE IMPARTIAL
HISTORY and WARS
OF THE
Kingdom of IRELAND,
DESCRIBING

Its Situation, Division into Provinces,
Shires, &c. Its Ancient Inhabitants,
Manners, Customs, and the State it was in at
its being first Invaded and Conquer'd by the
English, in the Reign of K. *Henry II.*

WITH THE
Several Revolts and Rebellions of the
Natives, and by what means they have been
reduced to Obedience in the Reign of our
several Kings and Queens.

BUT
More particularly relating to all the
Memorable Skirmishes, Battles, Sieges, and
other extraordinary Transactions, since the
Grand Revolution under the Reign of their
Present Majesties K. *William* and Q. *Mary*,
to the Siege and Surrender of *Limerick*,
Octob. 4. 1691. and many other things that
have since happened : Being a History full
of Variety, and worthy the Perusal of the
Ingenious Reader. *by J. S.*

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

L O N D O N: Printed for *Nicholas Boddington* at the
Golden Ball in *Duck-Lane.* 1 6 9 2.

1844

1845

1846

1847

1848

1849

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THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

READER,

IN this small Book you are presented with a long Prospect of an Opulent Kingdom, not only in its Dimension and Description, but Historically treated of from the time it was first known to be peopled, to this present Year 1691, as well before the English had any knowledge of it, or so much as navigated the rough Hibernian Seas, as after it allured them to its Conquest in the Reign of Henry II. since which time it has been a dependant Kingdom by Right of Conquest. and now inseperably annexed to the Imperial Crown of England. To shake off which Sovereignty it has often

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strugled in vain, and smarted under the many Wars and Rebellions that have been raised on that Account; yet, as if infatuated, those Warnings have been little available to the Natives, as will appear in the Relation we give you of what has happened worthy of Notice, in the Reigns of our Kings and Queens, since its Subjection, but more particular, the Transactions for Three Years past, as relating to Councils, Policies, Skirmishes, Sieges, and what else materially happened till the Siege and Surrender of Limerick. A History so full of variety, that we cannot conceive but it will give ample satisfaction beyond what has been published of this kind: And so not doubting but upon that score it will find Acceptance and Approbation in the hands of the Impartial and Unprejudic'd Perusers, I make bold to subscribe myself, the Candid Reader's Well-wisher, and

Most Humble Servant,

J. S.

THE INTRODUCTION.

THat *Ireland* has been very antiently inhabited, it appears not only by their own, but many other Historians, to whom a greater Credit is to be given; and tho' (the Natives being little given to Navigation) its Fame has not much spread into the remoter parts of the World; yet for its Situation and Fertility, if the provident Care and Frugality of the *Irish* would but have help'd the Soil in any reasonable degree, it might be compared with most Islands, in producing things necessary not only for the supplying its Inhabitants, but such as could command the most valuable Commodities of *Europe*; yet the People of the Antient Stock not accustoming themselves to Labour, but rather to Spoil and War, desirous to live idly

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idly upon the Product of the Country, and Manufacture of the industrious *English*, by such unlawful ways as opportunity has put into their hands, have in a great measure neglected their own Patrimonies, and suffered them in many places to become of no considerable Value, as being eaten up by the encroachment of Boggs, and over-grown with such Excrements of Nature as hinder Fertility; and this mainly out of not altogether so much sloth and neglect, as their irreconcilable hatred to those of the *British* Nation that inhabit amongst them, that they should get nothing by their Lands, tho' by their Friendly Instruction and Conversation they might have been exceedingly bettered in their Fortunes and Manners, and such Manufactures of sundry kinds improved, as might have redounded not only to their particular Interests, but to the inhansement of the Value of the Island among the Neighbouring Nations; for it not only abounds in Iron, but other useful Minerals; and many other things that might, if well improved, set the poorer sort on Work; and not only put an end to that Poverty that too much pinches the Natives, but likewise make their Traffick abroad considerable

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siderable enough to be taken Notice of, and bring them a Trade that in a short time would much contribute to the encrease of a greater Plenty, and prove a comfortable Maintenance to some thousands, who for several Years past have been destitute of such a Lively-hood as might render them capable of subsisting, and for want of which they have been forced to travel abroad and serve other Nations, where they are for the most part treated little better than Slaves, as well in War as other Employments, many of them, if we impartially consider their Merits, as to Education, Natural Endowments, deserving better usage; for it must be confessed by all unbiassed Persons, that the *Irish* Gentry are qualified sufficiently (at least the greatest Number of them) for great Undertakings, if they would according to what they understand, labour to improve their own advantage, by putting themselves forward in the World, to acquire those Preferments and Undertakings they are capable of, and might be very serviceable to the Government, but that most of them being *Roman Catholicks*, and so superstitiously zealous in their way, that
they

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they are absolutely swayed and guided in all their Undertakings by their Priests who labour all that in them lies to keep up their Idolatrous Traditions, and themselves in esteem to their great advantage in gathering the Wealth of the Kingdom, and as they see their opportunity, stir them up to a dis-esteem of the Government, which has been the occasion of much Bloodshed, and brought Misery and Desolation upon the Land, that at sundry times has made it uneasie for many Years; and we are not insensible that in this last Revolt, which has been a smarting one to the *Irish*, the Priests hurried them, especially the meaner sort, into a fruitless Rebellion, by Threats of Excommunication, and all the Bugbear Fulminations of the *Romish* Church. Tho' at last it is hoped, seeing the Stream of Blood is now so kindly stopped in the Kingdom, that the Natives will see their former Errors, and stick to their Obedience, notwithstanding any Insinuations or under-hand Dealings that may hereafter be inculcated, or clandestinely carried on.

Never had the *Irish* Nation a better opportunity to lay hold on, for settling

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a lasting Happineſs to Themſelves, and their Poſterities, under the Auspicious Reigns of a King and Queen, who make it their utmoſt Endeavours, and think it their greateſt Felicity, to do their Subjects good, ſparing no Charge, nor ſhunning any Hazard or Danger that may conduce to the Settlement of a glorious Peace, not only in their own Dominions, but in all *Europe*, and reſtore thereby, as far as lies in human poſſibility, the *Golden Age*, wherein all appeared ſerene and calm, whiſt univerſal Joy ſpread her Downey Wings, to ſhelter the Delighted Nations from the Storms of Diſcontent and Trouble. From all which we may conclude : That if *Ireland* ever was deſirous to be in a prosperous ſtate, the time is come, that puts that Opportunity into the hands of her Inhabitants to become a happy People. When on the other hand, had things ſucceeded, as too many of them unadviſedly wiſhed ſome few Months ſince, they might inſtead of being at perfect liberty, been the Sons and Daughters of Slavery, and the moſt ſevereſt of Bondages, under the *French* Tyranny ; which how eaſie that Yoke is to bear, the Subjects of *France* have fatally experienced in the Reigns of

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of many of their former Kings, but more especially under *Lewis XIV.* to avoid which, the more discerning part have undergone a voluntary Exile, and become a scattered People over the face of the Earth, finding better usage in barbarous Nations.

This, I hope, may suffice to warn the *Irish*, to consider where their Interest lies, and to embrace Their Majesties Protection, as their true *Asylum*.

A
 TRUE and IMPARTIAL
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Kingdom of IRELAND,
 DESCRIBING

Its Situation, Ancient Inhabitants, Manners, Customs, and the State it was found in at the Time it was Invaded and Conquered by the *English*, in the Reign of King *Henry II*, &c.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* is of no mean Extent, but rather very large and considerable; it is an Island, it is bounded on the *East* with *England* and *Scotland*, on the *West* with the main Ocean, on the *South* with part of *France* and *Normandy*, and on the *North* with the *Du-calidonian* Sea: It is as all other Islands, surrounded with Water, containing in Length 400, and in Breadth 200 Miles, and is especially

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cially parted or divided into four Provinces, viz. 1. *Munster*, which is again divided into the Counties of *Limerick*, *Kerry*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Desmon*, and *Holy Cross* in *Tipperary*. 2. The Province of *Leinster*, divided into the Counties of the *East* and *West Meaths*, *Kilkenny*, *Caterlough*, *King's County*, *Kildare*, *Wexford*, *Dublin*, and *Wicklow*. 3. The Province of *Connaught*, divided into the Counties of *Clare*, *Thumond*, *Majo*, *Sligo*, *Letarim*, and *Roscomon*. 4. The Province of *Ulster*, divided into the Counties of *Tyrconnel*, *Tyrone*, *Cavan*, *Coleraine*, *Monaghan*, *Antrim*, *Down*, *Armah*, and *Lough*; and these are for the most part at this day, replenished with many considerable Cities and Towns, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the Series of this History, as they shall fall in their proper places. The Country is naturally very Fruitful, and seems by the Soil always to have been so, though the Natives have not appear'd very Active in Improving it, as being naturally given up to Sloath, or to live by War and Rapine. As for the first Peopling it after *Noah's Flood*, it remains very much, if not altogether in the Dark, the Natives having been imposed on by Monks and Bards, a sort of Rimers and Fortune-Tellers, with Fables for Reality, though it is conjectured by the Learned, that this Island was Peopled upon the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, soon after the Flood; and the *Irish* Historians of the best account, tell us, That one *Bastolenus*, encouraged by the Example of *Nimrod* in *Syria*, settled his Monarchy in the Western Islands, and amongst others Peopled this; yet

yet where he kept his head Residence no mention is made, but that his three Sons Ruling there, had War with Giants that grew up in the Land and rebelled against them; and that afterward divers *Scythians* roving to seek Adventures, got footing there; and so they go on in the doubtful Paths of Uncertainty a great way farther: But true it is, that according to our own Histories, and those of other Nations, the *Irish* began very early to rove abroad, and in their Boats and such kind of Ships as they had, coming frequently ashore in *England* and *Scotland*, and other Places, did great Mischief by Burning and Plundering, but were frequently met withal, and a great many of them killed: nor do we find that the *Romans* when they conquered *Britain*, extended their Arms to *Ireland*.

It is held they were Converted to the Christian Religion by St. *James* the Apostle; and some give large grounds for it: but their Authors will have it done by one *Paladinus*, sent thither to that purpose by Pope *Celestine*, but more especially perfected by St. *Patrick*, to whom they ascribe a thousand Incredibilities: But, to leave these Conjectures, that are not greatly pertinent to our Matter, we now come nearer to that for which we have more Warrant and Certainty.

The first Acquaintance that the *English* had with the *Irish*, as to any thing that is remarkable, was in the Reign of *Henry* the Second of *England*, their chief Communication being with *France*, whither they sent several Bands of Soldiers to help them against the *English*, who

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were Waring there under their King for the Recovery of his Right in the Provinces that were his Grand-father's, which he having pretty well settled, turned his Thoughts upon *Ireland*, where he heard they were at Variance among themselves, the whole Land being divided under many Petty Princes, when it luckily happned a business fell out that gave him an easie Inlet to the Conquest of it ; for in the Year 1167, the Eastern Part of the Island along the Sea being possessed by *Dormat Mac-mur*, King of *Leinster*, his Cruelties had highly incensed his Subjects against him, and what more raised their Fury, was, the Injury he did to *Morice* King of *Meath*, by wheedling away his Queen, and living with her in Adultery ; so that the intraged Husband seeking Reparation and Revenge, invaded his Countries, by the Assistance of *Roderick O Connor*, King of *Connaught*, at the Terror of whose Approach, *Dormat* being detested by, and forsaken of his Subjects, was forced to flie to *England*, and there implored Protection ; which upon taking an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to the King, was freely given him ; and *Henry*, with a Sum of Money, procured leave of Pope *Adrian*, an *English*-man, promoted to *St. Peter's* Chair, that he might Conquer *Ireland*, promising moreover, thoroughly to establish the Christian Religion, and bring it to an Acknowledgement of the See of *Rome* ; but whilst he was preparing to pass the Seas, new Troubles arose in his *French* Territories, that required his Presence ; yet by his Letters Patens he gave Leave, with Encouragement to his

his Nobles, and such others as were willing to go for *Ireland*.

Dormat impatient of his Exile, mainly upon this Concession, solicited *Richard* the King's Son, promising not only his Daughter, a very beautiful young Lady in Marriage, but great Possessions in the Country, when he should be restored, and all his Territories after his Death. The young Prince being of a Warlike Temper, and thirsting after Glory, resolved, though his Father was absent, to undertake this Expedition; and early the next Spring sailed from *Bristol* with divers Ships, on board which were thirty Knights, sixty Esquires, and three hundred Archers, the first *English*-men ever known to Land in a Hostile manner in *Ireland*, and being met by *Dormat* with such Forces as he, going over a little before, had raised, they seized upon the Town of *Wexford*, which was given to one *Fitz Stevens*, a *Welsh* Gentleman, according to Agreement upon his raising part of the Forces; so that News of this, and other Successes flying to *England*, many Adventurers came over; and although the Petty Kings joyned their Forces, yet were they beat in divers bloody Battles: and *Dormat* being restored, had *Dublin* submitted to him, inflicting grievous Punishments upon such of his Capital Enemies as he found there.

The Prince being now in *Ireland*, greatly increasing in Strength, that came over to him, carried all before him; which made King *Henry*, who feared the Prince's Aspiring upon such Successes, and willing to have the Honour of Conquering so large a Kingdom himself, sent

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his Mandate to re-call the *English* out of *Ireland*, so that but a few being left with the Prince in *Dublin*, and they reduced to a great streight by the *Irish* that had taken heart, they nevertheless sallied upon an Army of 30000 with not above 1500 Men, and utterly routed them, taking great Spoil; and then coming for *England*, he surrendered all the Cities and Forts he had taken into his Father's Hands, for *Dormat* by this time was dead; and in the Year 1172, King *Henry* landed with a Royal Army, which brought such a Terrour upon *Ireland*, that *Roderick*, and most of the Petty Princes that were Independant, or his Tributaries, came with their humble Supplications to intreat him, That he would take the Government upon him, as their Supream Prince and Lord: so that at *Christmas* he made them a Noble Feast in *Dublin*; and settled the Kingdom in Civil and Ecclesiastical Matters, Reforming Abuses and Barbarities: And soon after those that held out in *Ulster* were brought to submit, from which time we may Date the Conquest of *Ireland* by the *English*, under which Sovereignty it has ever since remained as a conquered Kingdom, and now annexed to the Crown: yet the Natives who are generally hot spirited, uneasie, and restless under Restraint, have often strugled to break this Chain, though to the Loss and Disadvantage mostly of themselves.

King *Richard* the First, by reason of his Wars in the *Holy Land*, his Imprisonment upon his Return, in *Austria* and the Empire, and other

other Disappointments he met with at Home, had no War with the *Irish*, nor happened there any thing extraordinary, but care and industry to settle the Government; which was done with such tenderness, that the Natives being more civilized, began to think themselves happy in the change, and that they were redeemed from perpetual War, which when so many Princes governed as Absolute in their Dominions, could not be avoided among so rough and stubborn a People. But because King *Edward* the First had sent for Forces out of *Ireland*, to help him against the *Scots*, with whom he had mortal Wars, the wilder sort of the *Irish* in *Edward* the Second's time invited them over, and many of the leading Men of the Natives revolted, ruining the Country; but upon the *English* joyning Battle with them they were routed, and about 11000 slain, among whom was a King of *Connaught*, and one *Okly* a Lord of great Possessions: but soon after the Lord *Roger Mortimer* being sent over as Lord Justice of *Ireland*, he managed Matters so ill, that the *Scots* were again called in under *Edward Bruce*, Brother to the *Scots* King, who taking several places by the Revolt of the *Irish* from the *English* Obedience, caused himself to be Crowned King of *Ireland*; but in a great Battle his Forces being routed, and he labouring to restrain their flight, was killed by one *Morepass*, whom he likewise requited with Death before his Fall, and the dead Bodies fell by that means on each other, which happened in the Year 1320.

However they were rather dispersed than broken, doing considerable mischief where they found an opportunity to fall upon the *English*, that had settled themselves in the Towns and Villages near the Sea, &c.

In the Year 1329, during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the *Irish* in *Leinster* and *Meath* rebelled; against whom the Earl of *Ormond* drew out what Forces he could, but being over-poured in number, was defeated, and the *Irish* made great Spoils of the *English* Possessions, and amongst other Barbarities, burnt eighty of them in a Church where they had fled for Refuge; but at last the *English* fortified themselves in *Wexford*, and upon their approach to besiege it, sallied out upon them with such Courage, that Success crowned it, and 4000 of the *Irish* were killed, most of them that fled being hotly pursued, were drowned in the River *Slane*; which with some other Encounters, where Victory declared on our side, so quelled them, that in this King's Reign they rebelled no more.

Anno 1398, in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, the *Irish* fell again into Rebellion, and by Surprize fall upon the King's Lieutenant, and divers Persons of Quality, whom they slew; which made the King with considerable Forces hast thither, and Landing, he put them in all parts to the Rout, killing a great many, and taking several of their Ring-Leaders; and keeping his Court of State at *Dublin*, to him resorted the Nobility, and chief
of

of the *Irish*, submitting and paying him Homage, promising to keep the Country in quiet for the future : but Troubles arising in *England*, the King hastily left *Ireland*, and was no sooner arrived in *Wales*, but finding himself deserted, he betook him to a Castle, where he was seized by *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, to whom he resign'd his Crown, and was afterward inhumanly murdered. Upon whose Death many Troubles and Contentions arose ; so that the *English* being embroyled at home, *Ireland* was little minded, the People there doing, in a manner, what they pleased. But in the Reign of *Henry the Fifth*, we being settled at home, more care was taken to prevent the Outrages and Depradations of the *Irish* ; in-somuch, that several who had been formerly Offenders were punished, and others fled, amongst whom were divers of their Great Ones, who notwithstanding the care of the Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant of the Kingdom, to repress them, drew a great multitude of People into Rebellion : but the Earl gave Battle at *Redmoor-Atby*, where the *Irish* under the Leading of *O Moor*, stood stoutly to it, as Men in despair ; but after a Bloody Fight, that coloured all the Ditches of the Fens with Blood, the Battle swerved, and the *Irish* were defeated with great slaughter. Which quelled them in so terrible a manner, that for a long time after they seemed out of Love with War : So that nothing memorably occurs in History, till the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*, when the Earl of *Kildare* being Deputy, one *Richard Symons* a Priest wheedled him into a belief,

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that one *Lambert*, a Youth whom he had brought up as his Scholar, was really the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward the Fourth*, that had escaped out of the *Tower*, and was come thither for Protection; and the young Spark having been well tutored, and of a graceful Carriage, so well acted his part, that not only the Lieutenant, but a great many of the *Irish* Nobility sided with him, raising considerable Forces to espouse his Quarrel, Crowning him King in *Dublin*, and not content to keep him there, they brought him with a considerable Army into *England*, Landing in *Lancashire*, and Proclaiming him. But the King's Forces advancing, they were in a Set-Battle overthrown, and the Impostor taken Prisoner, the Priest hanged, &c.

They likewise in this King's Reign aided another, called *Perkin*, or *Peter Warbeck*, who styled himself Duke of *York*, younger Son to *Edward the Fourth*; but in this they had no better success than in the former, a great many being killed, the Impostor taken, after several Attempts, and bloody Encounters, having engaged the *Scots* as well as *Irish*; on his part, marrying the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, Niece to that King; he was first obliged to confess his Impostor, how he was set on, maintained and encouraged by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, Sister to *Edward the Fourth*, and then being publicly punished, was sent to the *Tower*, from whence endeavouring to escape, he was executed, and with him the real Earl of *Warwick*, who had been kept a Prisoner there a considerable

able time : all that was alledged against him was, that he attempted to make his Escape with *Perkin*, to raise new Commotions.

In the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, great Commotions were stirred up, which were at first suddenly appeased, but the Earl of *Kildare* being Deputy, the People exhibited their Complaints against him to the Court of *England*, as the cause of many Disturbances by his severe using them, and amongst other Articles they had this, *viz. All Ireland is not able to Rule this Earl.* Then, said the King, *this Earl is the fittest Man to Rule all Ireland :* and thereupon he continued him Deputy, it appearing this hatred against him proceeded only from the strict hand he had over them to keep them from rebelling. And another was, *That he had caused to be burned the Cathedral Church of Cashal.* The Arch-bishop of that place being his chief Accuser, and when every one would have denied it, he bluntly replied, *By Chreest, I would never have done it, had I not been told the Arch-bishop was in it.* Which plain dealing made the King smile, and the Arch-bishop storm and fret : however, the Earl was ordered to rebuild it at his own charge, and so continued in his Deputy-ship ; but often fell into displeasure by reason of his plain downright dealing ; and Cardinal *Wolsey* now ruling all at Court, for speaking too plain to him upon his Examination at the Council-Board, where *Wolsey* sat as President, he sent him to the Tower, and ordered a War-

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rant for his Execution without the King's Knowledge ; of which the King having Notice by the Lieutenant, was mightily incensed at *Wolsey*, and that great Favourite soon after falling into disgrace, the Earl was released and sent to *Ireland* with one *Sir William Sheington*, who was made Deputy : however the *O Moors* fell into Rebellion, but being opposed by Forces drawn out of *Dublin*, they were dispersed, and many of them killed, and for that time the Tempest blown over, however it lasted not long for the Earl of *Kildare's* Enemies, having again upon many grievous Complaints prevail'd to have him sent for to *England*, he was committed to the *Tower* ; whereupon his Son, the Lord *Thomas*, notwithstanding the Perswasions of the Chancellour to avert him from it, fell into Rebellion, and drew great Forces after ; yet driven at last to extrem Necessities, he was perswaded by the Lord *Grey*, then Deputy of the Kingdom, to submit himself to King *Henry's* Mercy, without hope of Pardon ; but some of his Followers having killed *Alen* Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, he was upon his Arrival committed to the *Tower* ; and King *Henry* being informed, that the *Geraldine* Family had vowed never to have Peace with him, he sent for the Earl's five Brothers in Custody ; when one of them during their crossing the Seas, demanded of the Master, what the Name of the Ship was ? who replied, *The Cow* : Nay, then, said he, looking on the rest with a dejected Countenance, *we are all lost Men ; for now a Prophecy comes into my Head, that says, Five Brethren*
of

of an Earl should be carried into *England* in the Belly of a *Cow*, and never come back again: and I doubt not, but all things hitting so pat, we are they. And indeed so it happen'd; for being accused of the late Rebellion, though two of them were ignorant of it; the Lord *Thomas*, Son to the Earl, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and the five Brethren hanged drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*, and the Earl soon after died in the *Tower* of Grief, which destroyed the Center of that Noble Family; for although one Brother escaped, yet travelling through many Countries, he at last came to *Naples*, and there died Childless. Nor did the Lord *Grey* escape for being countermanded, and accused of holding Correspondency with this Family, though without any notable Proof he was condemned for High-Treason, and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*.

The Kings of *England*, the better to please the Natives of *Ireland*, having been all this while only called *Lords* of *Ireland*; the Parliament sitting at *Westminster* in the 33d year of *Henry's* Reign, invested with the Title of *King* of *Ireland*: whereupon the Earl of *Ty-ron*e, and divers others rebelled; but in some bloody Encounters being defeated, the Earl was at last subdu'd, and brought Prisoner for *England*; yet upon his humble Submission released and sent over, upon promise of keeping the Country in quiet; which he pretty well observed during the short Reigns of King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*, only some petty Commotions happened that were soon quieted.

In the Year 1566, being the Seventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, one of the chief Lords of *Ireland*, named *Donald Mac Carti More*, upon some little stirrs that happened, came over, and not only cleared himself to the Queen, but delivered up to her all his Territories, vowing perpetual Fealty ; but she in gratitude restored them again, and made him Earl of *Glencare*, giving him a considerable Sum to bear his Expences ; so that by his great Authority amongst the Natives, it was thought the Kingdom would be kept quiet ; but it proved otherwise : for after some private Conspiracies, that never broke out, were defeated, the Earl of *Desmond*, the Eleventh Earl of that Title, who had great Territories, and abundance of Followers, broke into open Rebellion, and did great damage to the *English*, driving them out of many places, killing divers Gentlemen in Revenge, as he said, of the Earl of *Kildare* and his Family being put to Death ; and amongst others, one with whom he had contracted a strict Friendship, and usually called Father, who when he saw him with his drawn Sword breaking into his Chamber, and relying upon his former Friendship, cried out, *What is the matter Desmond, my Son ?* to whom the bloody Earl sternly replied, *I am no longer thy Son, nor thou my Father ; but thou shalt surely die :* and thereupon they put him, and all they found in the House to the Sword,

These Outrages alarmed the Lord Deputy, who drawing out his Forces, after divers Skirmishes put the Earl to the Rout, who being forsaken of his Followers, lurked for some time in the Bogs and Mountains; but miserable want driving him thence among the Cottages, he was there found and slain by a private Souldier, when his Head being conveyed to *England*, was set upon *London-Bridge*; and so fell this Eleventh Earl of *Desmond*. But in his Grave the restless Spirits of the *Irish* were not buried, for casting their Eyes on the Family of the *Bourks*, they gave out they would have an eminent Person of that Family to be their King, or Governour; and many Tumults were raised: but this prudent Queen, notwithstanding some intestine Troubles at home, took such care, that she a long time by Policy and Force reduced the unruly Natives to their Obedience; the former of which was particularly effected by driving away their Cattle, and making them submit through extrem necessity, after they had been got together in the Woods, about forty Days. The Second was by the timely Notice the Deputy had of Two thousand *Scotch Highlanders* landing to joyn with the *Irish*, and knowing nothing that they had laid down their Arms; as to their greatest number, they came on with such as fell in with them by the way, in hopes to joyn the rest, breaking into the Province of *Connaught*, where indeed a great many of the Country Peasants took Arms on their part; but the Lord-Deputy by speedy Marches towards them, and finding they were got into

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Bogs and Fastnesses, after he had encamped within sight a-while, feigned a Retreat, and they, by reason of their over-numbring him, supposing he had fled, immediately followed; but were no sooner trained on the firm ground, e're the *English* faced about, charged their Front and Flanks, piercing the Array of their Battle, and put them to utter rout and confusion, so that not above eighteen of them escaped of upwards of Three thousand, which crushed the *Scots* attempting to help them in their Rebellion.

These bad Successes shewing plainly, the Hand of Heaven against them, did not however make them sensible of their misfortune, in taking up Arms against a powerful Nation; for perceiving themselves too weak to struggle in the Lyon's Paws, they began to tamper with other Nations, alledging after the Reformation, *Religion*, as a ground to justify their Rebellions, though they were ever starting from their Allegiance, when both Nations professed that of the Roman Catholick Communion; but now taking this for a plausible pretext, the Earl of *Tyrone* began underhand to deal with *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, for Succours of Men and Ammunition, promising to hold the Kingdom at his Devotion: but this being about to be discovered by *Hugh O Neal*, *Tyrone* in a rage clapped a Cord about his Neck, and strangled him with his own hands. Notwithstanding this, it was known, and he summoned to answer it in the *English* Court; and upon some assurance of Pardon he went, submitting himself, and making

king such plausible Protestations of Innocency, that times running high by reason that the *Spaniards* were about to Invade *England*, he was pardoned, and sent over again, but afterward proved Ingrateful, and a very dangerous Enemy.

Much about this time one *Mac Malcoon*, a leading Man among the *Irish*, stirred up Com-motions about paying Taxes, for which he was taken, tried, and executed, his Estate being given partly to his Family, and partly to the *English*, that living upon it they might curb and over-awe the rest: Whereupon one *Brian O Roch*, who had sided with him, to prevent a present Punishment, fell into an open Rebellion; but upon the Rout that immediately was given him, he fled into *Scotland* for Protection, but the Queen's Influence was so great upon that Kingdom, that she had him delivered up; and being tried at *Westminster*, he was there found Guilty, and being carried to *Tyburn*, he was there executed without being concerned at Death.

These things having been buzed in the ears of the Multitude, to have been done in an Arbitrary Way, the Earl of *Tyrone* thought it a fit time to lay hold of their Discontents, and raised all the Forces he could, calling in the *Spaniard*, and imploring the other *Roman Catholick Nations* to assist him, as he pretended, to prevent Heresies over-running that Kingdom; nor was the Pope, to whom he had sent one *Stewkley*, an *English* Renagado, as his Agent, wanting to further his Design, causing 600 Harquibuffers to be levied in the Territories

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ories of the Church, for the Service of *Tyrone*: But *Stewkley*, who commanded them, coming into the Port of *Lubon* with them, at what time King *Don Sebastian* was going to Invade *Africa*, he retained them for his Service, when at the fatal Battle of *Alcazar* against the *Moors*, they were all cut to pieces: However, *Tyrone* being very much strengthened, gave the *English* a great Overthrow, and put all *Connaught*, *Ulster* and *Munster* in Arms; and the War after that went on with doubtful Success, sometimes one Party prevailed and sometimes another. Here the famous Earl of *Essex*, the great Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, commanded; but whilst he was Fighting in *Ireland*, he was undermined by his Foes at the *English* Court, and being called Home, and some Misdemeanours in this War, and other things charged against him, he was confined to his House, where falling into Discontent, he after having imprisoned the Privy-Counsellors that were sent to him from the Queen, he broke out into open Violence, for which he lost his Head on *Tower-hill*. The Fall of so brave a Souldier proving afterward no small cause of Grief to the Queen; and his Loss was greatly regreted by the People, whose Darling he was.

The Lord *Norrice* being Deputy of *Ireland* in the stead of the Earl of *Essex*, he followed his Business so close, that giving *Tyrone* several Overthrows, and beating out the *Spaniards* that came to his Assistance, he at last was left by his Followers, who cursing him for bringing them into such Troubles, shifted as they could;

could ; so that after he had lurked up and down some Months, suffering extream Necessity, he came and surrendered himself to the Lord-Deputy, upon promise he should be sent over to *England*, there to throw himself at the Queen's Feet for Mercy ; and according he was sent over and committed to the Tower ; but the Queen dying before he could be brought to Tryal, King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England*, coming to the Crown, he was by an Act of Indemnity pardoned, and set at Liberty, he and all his Adherents, promising exact Obedience for the future ; and that wise King knowing how to settle a troublesome Nation, as having been brought up in one himself, he knew it was best to prevent and lay aside Animosities, and therefore by his Proclamation of Pardon, he utterly extinguished all Offences, not only against the Crown, but between Subject and Subject, as to particular Trespasses ; and the like to every one that at a set day would appear and claim the Benefit of his Pardon before the Justice of Assize, and Publick Justice for that purpose being settled in every County, it abated much of the Tyranny their Petty Lords had over them, and made the Vulgar sort of them sensible of the Goodness of the *English* Laws, of which before they had purposely been kept in Ignorance : Being now for the most part freed from their Servitude, and in the King's immediate Protection, so that if their Lords had a mind to Rebel, they could not compel their Tenants to Rise as they had formerly done ; and *Ireland* being now divided

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ded into Shires, the Circuits were erected in every Province; and the *English* had their Lands allotted, and more particular Colonies established, so that Trade began to flourish; and several Corporations of the City of *London* having purchased large Proportions of Land, built a strong Town for their Security, against the Incurfions of the *Irish* that might happen, very advantageously situate on the Bank of a River and Lough, which made a wonderful Change, to all appearance, in the face of Things; but what can hinder a People from being Miserable that will make themselves so, as may not improperly say, in spite of Providence: the chief of the *Irish* were displeased at these Proceedings, finding the *English* Improvement rendered such Plenty in the Kingdom, as made their Land of little Value; and therefore many of them spitefully let them lye neglected to be over-run with Thistles and Briars, cursing their Posterity if ever they had any Communication with the *English*, or so much as Ploughed or Sowed; by which their irreconcilable Hatred to us may be measured.

The ordinary sort of People notwithstanding their Lords Diswaifions, finding they had not their former Power to compel, perceiving Advantage to arise by this new Settlement, inhabited very friendly with the *English*, and by their Examples began to improve themselves in Industry, and seemed averſe to be ſtired up as formerly upon every ſlight Occaſion to Rebel, inſomuch that a long Peace enſued, and that brought with it extraordinary Plenty; but

as nothing is certain or permanent upon Earth, so in process of Time this Golden Cord of Union between the two Nations was violently cut in sunder.

Troubles arising in the Year 1641, thro' a Misunderstanding, and fomented Heats blown by secret Enemies, and War being in prospect between *England* and *Scotland*, several of the Native *Irish* Chieft, not finding the People prone to hearken to them, incited the Popish Priests, who by promising them Heaven for Obedience to their Commands, and Damnation on the contrary, with many other strange Stories and things, pushed them headlong on to one of the blackest Iniquities the Sun has for many Ages beheld, and was too late discovered to be prevented, for it happened, that on the 23d of *October*, the *Irish*, headed by a great many of their Nobility and Gentry, rose generally in Arms. seizing upon divers strong Places, Arms, Ammunition, and all that came to hand, vowing the utter Destruction of all the *English* in *Ireland*, to Extirpate them from the face of the *Irish* Earth, both Root and Branch; and this was discovered but one Night before it was to be executed; by which Providence however *Dublin* and some other Places, by the Imprisoning the Conspirators, and Fortifying them with good Garilons, were secured, and became a Refuge to the Lives of many; so that now one might every-where behold Houses flaming, the miserable People flye every-where for their Lives, whilst the Bloud of many were mingled

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led with Flames, and the Earth made red by the Blood of those that were slaughtered in the Fields and Ways; thousands were drowned in Rivers and Lakes till the Stream was glutted with the dead Bodies, and they Bridged over the Waters; many were ripped up alive, and others tortured in a more cruel manner, some were turned out into Snows and Frost and starved to death; the Priests and Fryars going along with the Murtherers, and beating them on to it with their Crucifixes, telling them, They were Hereticks, and no longer to be suffered alive on the Earth; and that it was so far from a Sin to kill them, that it was Meritorious, and even Damnation it self to spare them; giving the Sacrament to the more scrupulous of Conscience to confirm them in the Bloody Enterprize; so that in a short space, before any Succour could come from *England*, they destroyed by sundry barbarous ways 200000 Men, Women, and Children, burnt most of their Houses and Villages, killing their Cattle, and suffering them to rot upon the Ground, rooting up likewise their newly sprouted Corn, as maliciously bent not only to destroy the People, but in Hatred and utter Detestation all that appertained to them; flattering themselves by the Inducement of old lying Prophecies, to shake off the *English* Yoke, and choose them a King from among their Country-men, but Fate consented not.

The King was at the beginning of this fatal Mischief in *Ireland*, upon the Borders of *Scotland*, labouring to Compose the Differences; recommending the Care of *Ireland* to his Parli-

Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, who promised a speedy Relief and Assistance to the Protestants that were got together in Arms, and stood upon their Defence; Voting 50000 Pound for to raise Forces; and the Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant-General of the Royal Forces in that Kingdom; to joyn whom Sir *Simon Harcourt* was sent out of *England* with a Regiment. So that the poor Remnant of the Protestants getting together, made the *Irish* Papist that were so good at base and unmanly Murthers, flie the Face of War. But Troubles growing fast on in *England*, by the Misunderstanding between King *Charles* the First and his Parliament, and sprouting up into a miserable Civil War, most of the guilty Persons at this time escaped unpunished: But the small Force of the Protestants that were left, being once united, forced the *Irish* out of their strong Hold, and restored the Face of Government; yet about eight Years after a bloody Scene was acted, for King *Charles* the First, loosing his Kingdoms with his Life, his Eldest Son *Charles*, as his undoubted Right, taking upon him the Kingly Dignity, though in Exile, *England* being cast, as they termed it, into a Modle of a Free State, or Republick, the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was commissioned to Labour the Securing that Country to the behoof of his Master King *Charles* the Second; and finding no other Means to do it in that Imergency, he closed his Interest with the Chief of the leading *Irish*, concluding a Peace in the King's Name, with the
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most considerable of them, upon Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, there being a Concession of certain Articles on the part of the Marquess to be performed, when being joyned by the Marquess of *Clanricard*, and the Lord *Inchequeen*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, &c. *Trim* and *Tredah* or *Drogheda*, upon a Defeat they gave the Forces that came from *England*, surrendered: and now *Dublin* wherein was a strong Garison commanded by Collonel *Jones*, being the only place of strength that held out, the Marquess laid Siege to it, with a brave Army to appearance, but it seems there were too many *Irish* in it, for the Besieged taking the advantage of the Carelessness of the Camp, made at first very slender Sallies, but finding the advantage, they sallied with their whole strength, and beating the Besiegers out of their Works, followed them into their Camp, which occasioned such Terrour and Confusion, that the *Irish* fled, and left the *English* and some few *French* to stand to it, but being overpowered by the vigorous Attaques, they at length, after a sharp and bloody Dispute, gave way, and were forced to raise the Siege, whilst the Besieged became Masters of their Camp, and an extraordinary Rich Booty; and more Forces arriving from *England*, Fortune went against them almost every-where: and now *London-Derry* being besieged, that Siege was raised by Sir *Charles Coot*: but what yet was a greater Terrour, *Cromwell*, a vowed and mortal Enemy to the *Irish*, landed with seven Regiments of Foot, four Regiments of Horse, and one of Dragoons, bringing along with him
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the Title of Lord Governour, or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had to bring over these Forces forty Sail of Ships, with battering Peices, Mortars, Ammunition, and all other Warlike Stores and Materials.

He staid a while to visit *Dublin*, and then marched with a compleat Army to besiege *Drogheda*, wherein was a strong Garison of *English* and *Irish*, it being upon the Rumour of his Approach re-inforced with 2500 Foot, and 300 Horse, and although it was stoutly defended, yet it was carried by Force, and by the too cruel Order of the General, all were put to the Sword, ~~not respecting~~ Age nor Sex, except a very few who hid themselves for many Days, till the Fury was over: And here it is the more to be lamented, because this Brunt fell mostly upon many brave *English* Gentlemen, who were got into the Place to Defend it for their King. Other Towns were likewise taken by Storm, and treated at the like rate; so that a bloody Vengeance seemed to fall heavy upon a great many that were Innocent for the Sins of the Guilty, who had so lately poluted the Land with Innocent Blood, and now kept mostly out of the way in the Mountains, Bogs, and Fastnesses; however, being at last hunted from place to place, a great number fell by the Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, insomuch that the Land was greatly Depopulated, a third part of the People being watted, and had severe Task-Masters over them that made them Groan under their Burthens, till *Charles* the Second

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came to lighten their Shoulders, and restore them again their Peace and Ease, by Accession to the Crown upon the Happy Restauration; so that the People wearied with their former Miseries, began to be out of love with War and Insurrections, and seemed mightily inclinable to Peace: And indeed the King took care to place such Ministers of State amongst them, especially the Lords Lieutenants and Lords Justices, that they had no reasonable cause to Complain of their Usage, either in Affairs Civil or Military; and indeed the Tranquility the Kingdom enjoyed, made the People in a great measure forget what they had suffered: They traded to *France* and *Spain* with the Product of their Native Soil; the Rivers and Lakes likewise afording them plenty of Fish, which they transported for Wine and other Commodities; nor did their Thoughts appear to be elevated above what was reasonable, till the Death of that King; but when King *James* the Second ascended his Brother's Throne, and declared himself a *Roman Catholick*, then it was the *Irish* Papists began to prick up their Ears, and to expect Advantages beyond their Abilities, publickly declaring, The Day was their own, and that the Protestant Religion must go down. But it seems in this, as in their other Aims, they took such Measures as made them shoot wide of their Mark.

The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who had been raised by King *James*, when Duke of *York*, from a mean to a considerable Figure, was looked upon

upon as a fit Instrument to carry on the Design in that Kingdom; and therefore upon the re-calling of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Clarendon*, he was made Lord-Lieutenant, and soon gave the *Irish* great Hopes of Superiority over the *English* in that Kingdom, by first Cashiering the Protestant Souldiers and Officers that were in Arms, and then the Officers and Ministers of Justice: And though there were Complaints made against him at the *English* Court, yet they were not regarded, but he the rather encouraged in this Enterprizes; insomuch, that things run so high that many feared a fatal Event, and divers left thereupon the Kingdom; some going for *Holland*, others for *Scotland* and *England*: and in such a method Matters continued to be pushed violently on, till News came of a purposed Invasion of the Kingdom of *England* by the Prince of *Orange*, now our Sovereign, then *Tyrconnel* bestir'd himself to secure *Ireland*, Imprisoning such as he suspected, and Disarming others; draining the Garisons of the most expert *Irish* Souldiers that were Papists, and sending them over to the number of 3000, or thereabout, to the Assistance of his Master; but they did him far more hurt than good by increasing the Peoples Fears that were but before suggested: and indeed the whole *English* Nation Revolting in a manner from King *James*, and what was more remarkable, a great part of the Army he had been so long Training up at a vast Expence. Upon the landing of the Prince with his Forces, the *I-*

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rish Forces that had been sent over in expectation of Mountains, found that they were not only dwindled into less than Mole-hills, but themselves in a miserable Condition, not only at the point of starving when Disbanded with the rest of the Forces, by the Earl of *Feverham*, but almost exposed to the Fury and violent Resentment of the People, who had conceived a Hatred against them; so that at last, submitting, they were taken care of, and most of them shipped for the Emperour's Service against the *Turks*.

Tyrconnel was not idle in *Ireland* upon the News he had from *England* of King *James* his Flight to *France*, but calling a Council mostly of his *Creatures*, told them, That now it was their time to stand up for their Country, and secure it against all Opposers; and that for his part, if even his Master should command him to deliver up the Sword, he should think it, in such a Juncture, his Duty to Refuse it: And immediately not only spread the News throughout the Country, but caused the *Irish* every-where to take Arms, such as they could get; so that the Tumultuous Rable getting together, plundered the Protestant Houses, drove away their Cattle, fired their Stacks of Corn and Hay, murdered some, and barbarously used others, insomuch that the Terrour working in all, such as could fled for their Lives, leaving their Substance behind them, and happy they thought themselves in that Condition, if they could pass the Seas, either to *England* or *Scotland*; for although

though several of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry made Head in the *North*, yet the Enemy having in their Possession all the strong Towns, they found themselves too weak to make any extraordinary Resistance against so mighty a Torrent as came roaring on; however, they gave several of their Parties notable Overthrows, fortifying *London-Derry*, *Slego*, and the Isle of *Inniskilling*, and such other Places and Difficulties of Access as they found Opportunity; for by this time *Tyrconnel* had given Orders for stopping the Ports, and made many large and plausible Offers to bring them over to his Party, but they prevailed on a very few.

The Prince and Princess being proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, on the 14th of *February*, 1688. upon the Humble Address of both Houses of Parliament, great care was taken for the speedy succouring the oppressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and that the Papists in Arms against them, might be left without Excuse, a Proclamation was sent over offering, among other things, a Pardon and Indemnity for all that should in Obedience to it lay down their Arms and retire to their respective Places of abroad, and there peaceably behave themselves as Obedient Subjects ought to do, upon which Condition they should in full Freedom enjoy their Estates according to Law, and that the *Roman* Catholicks upon such Consideration should have all the Favour that the Law allows for the private Exercise of their Religion; with

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a further Promise, That a Parliament should be speedily called in that Kingdom: But upon refusing to comply with the Royal Mandate, to be esteemed as Rebels and Traytors to the Crown of *England*, &c. their Lands and Possessions to be Forfeited, and disposed of by way of Distribution among those that should be Aiding and Assisting in the Reducing the Kingdom to its Obedience.

This Royal Concession, though *Tyrconnel* laboured what in him lay to hinder its being dispersed, wrought some good Effects, notwithstanding that Earl, to counterballance it, put forth a Paper which he termed his Declaration, not only therein insinuating what great Advantage the Kingdom would reap by standing out, but that their Fears might be dispated, he promised speedy Aids and Succours from *France*, and that they should not want for either Money or Provision; and moreover, the better to encourage them, gave hopes of King *James's* speedy landing there with a numerous Army: And the better to secure himself, and keep up the Courage of his Party, he sent out Detachments to secure divers Protestant Gentlemen in the Country, and make Garisons of their Houses: but the greater part of them having timely notice, made their Escapes; by which the Protestants grew stronger in the *North*; however their Goods and Possessions were destroyed and harrassed. The Priests being the greatest Incendiaries to stir up those that were actually in Arms to Spoil and Rapine, as being sure of a Share, as
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likewise to Arm the madding Multitude; so that one might see Droves of the latter, some half naked, others tattered, and all in miserable Rags, armed with Pitchforks, Bills, Staves, and what other Merciless Weapons they could get on the suddain, running like so many Furies, to spoil and plunder, and in their greediness of Prey, not many times distinguishing Papists from Protestants; and it was strongly reported, That there was a great Debate in the Council, to which some Popish Bishops were admitted, about a General Massacre, as the best Expedient to clear the Country of Hereticks; but *Tyrconnel* (let it be to his praise) had the Generosity to oppose and detest it, and put a stop in some measure to the mischievous progress of the Rabble, yet when some of the Chiefs who had got Protections from him, made their Complaints, That they were notwithstanding plundered: he only shook his Head, and told them, It was necessity that made his Men to do it, and he could no ways help or restrain it.

These violent proceedings made those that thought upon the Earl's Protection, they might have some confidence in their continuance as to safety, begin to make away for the Sea Coast; and although the Masters of Ships were commanded on pain of Death to transport none, yet many escaped to *England* and *Scotland*, where they were well received, and Provision made for them by way of Publick Brief and Collection, &c.

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About the latter end of *March*, the Abdicated King landed in *Ireland*, with a great Train of Officers, but very few Forces, and was received at *Dublin* with a mixture of Joy and Sorrow bringing with him as his Supervisor Monsieur *D'Avaux*, with some *French* Generals. The Recorder of *Dublin* made a long Speech to him upon his Arrival, extolling him for Courage, Conduct, and all the Heroick Virtues imaginable, above the Skies; and a general Joy spread in the Faces of the Roman Catholicks, thinking now the day was all their own, and not doubting to carry every thing by force, or submission: and more Souldiers were Listed and Regimented under the *French* Officers that came over, and care taken to lay up Stores: Money was every-where extorted, and the plundered Cattle, Corn, and Hay brought in, and sold at considerable Rates; insomuch, that they soon gathered an Army of between Forty and Fifty Thousand Men.

Whilst these things were doing at Land, the *English* Navy being out at Sea with a strict charge to hinder Correspondence between *France* and *Ireland*, the Squadron under the Command of Admiral *Herbert*, had Notice by their Scout Ships, that part of the *French* Fleet was abroad, and stood away to the *Irish* Coast; whereupon he made all the Sail he could after them, and the next Day found they stood into *Bantry Bay*, a very spacious bearing in of the Sea, and though for fear of the Shallows, and other Difficulties that
might

might offer, it proved a work of difficulty to enter upon them, for they seemed no ways willing to come out to an Engagement, notwithstanding they were much superiour in number; yet the Admiral drawing his Ships into a Line, and lying upon the stretch, battered them extreemly from Ten in the Morning, till Five in the Afternoon, at what time the *French* Admiral tacked from us, and stood farther into the Bay: We killed them a great many Men; and some of our Men declared, they saw one of their Great Ships go to the bottom. On our side we lost Captain *Aylmer* of the *Portland*, with a Lieutenant, and about Three hundred Sea-men killed and wounded, and could our Fireships have entred upon them, most of their Ships, which were Forty four in number, to about Twenty Eight of ours, might have been destroyed.

Our Fleet after this Engagement came back to *Portsmouth*, and there refitted, whether the King of *England* went to take a view of them, and Dining aboard the Admiral, created him Earl of *Torrington*, &c. and distributed about Six thousand pound among the Seamen.

And now the *French* having violated the Peace, and undeniably begun the War in invading *Ireland*, the King delayed not to denounce the War against them by a Declaration to that purport, bearing Date the Seventh of May, 1689; and great Preparations were made for passing over to *Ireland*, Forces were Levied in all parts of *England*, and

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Money prepared for defraying the Charge of the Expedition; which was the more facilitated, upon the Estates of *Scotland* submitting their Crown to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and taking of them upon their being owned and invetted King and Queen of that Kingdom, which they did by their Commissioners, who waited upon Their Majesties to that purpose, in the Banqueting-House at *White-Hall*: And the Viscount of *Dundee*, who had headed the Rebel *Highlanders*, and others in that Kingdom, being killed in a fatal Battle near *St. Johnstown*; things began to go better, and the Success of the *Scotch* Affairs gave way to a more speedy prosecuting those in *Ireland*, where the *Inniskilling-men* being abroad, pierced the Enemies Quarters, and got great Booties, defeating divers Parties, and making themselves terrible to the Enemy.

Upon News brought that *Maccarty* was in those parts with a strong Party, plundering and ravaging the Country. Lieutenant-Colonel *Berry*, with three Companies of Foot, eight Troops of Horse, and three of Dragoons, marched towards them; but upon their approach, found they were made stronger than they were reported, by another Party that had joyned them, and were much superior to him in number; which obliged him before he found himself sufficiently strong to attack them, to send to Collonel *Woolsey* at *Inniskilling*, for a Re-inforcement; which he no sooner obtained, but he charged them with
much

much bravery, killing a considerable Number, taking some Prisoners, and putting the rest to flight ; but the Flyers in their way being greatly re-inforced, rallied, and came to a second Encounter, which for a time continued bloody and doubtful, they by reason of their advantageous Post, much gauling our Horse with their Cannon ; but the Defiles, or dirty narrow Passes being resolutely passed by our Foot and Dragoons, they made themselves Masters of the Cannon, which gave our Horse the advantage to charge the Enemies Horse, who thereupon deserted the Foot and fled, and the Foot after them, a great many being killed, and some taken Prisoners, by which Defeat the Country was freed from great Incumbrances. This part of the Enemies Army that had a long time lain heavy upon it, being by this means, and in this Battle, fell of the Enemy by the Sword, and those that were drowned in desperately throwing themselves into the Lough to escape the Pursuers, about Three thousand.

There happened likewise divers other Rencontres of lesser note, wherein the Protestants for the greatest part gained the advantage.

Whilst these things were doing, the *Irish* Army, with King *James* at the head of it, marched towards *London-Derry*, promising themselves, the Terrour of their Arms would oblige it to a Surrender upon the first approach ; but found they were extreemly mistaken

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staken, for although Collonel *Lundy* the Governour, and the two Regiments sent from *England*, under the Collonels *Cunningham* and *Richards*, had withdrawn, and slighted it, as a place not tenable against an Army of Forty thousand Men, with a Train of Artillery and divers Mortars; Providence so ordered, it became the Bulwark of the sinking Nation, and gave the Enemy their first considerable check; for divers Troops that were abroad, mostly composed of undisciplined Soldiers throwing themselves into it, they, together with those that were found there were Regimented, even the multitude seizing the Keys, and undertaking with great alacrity to defend it, having chose Mr. *George Walker*, Minister of an adjacent Village, their Governour, and Major *Baker*, his Co-adjutor, or Assistant-Governour during the Siege. And now those in Arms in the Town consisted of 117 Companies, and every Company contained sixty Men, being in all 7020 Common Soldiers, and 341 Officers. The next thing taken in hand, was to view the Stores, and ordering their better Security from any Embezling, as resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, having already rejected the Offers the Enemy made them, in case they would readily submit, which consisted of much promised Favour and Protection; but the hard dealings others had met with, who had put themselves into their hands, made them deaf to all Proposals, and their great Guns being mounted on the Wall, they fired upon the Advance-Guard

of IRELAND.

Guard of the Enemy, who had been persuaded to be received with open Arms, by *Don* *ton*, and others, who undertook to bring the besieged, which much consternated King *James*, then within the reach of their Cannon, and obliged him to remove to a place of more safety.

However, seeing fair Words and Promises could not gain it, they resolved to reduce it by force, beginning within a day or two after their appearance before it, to break ground, and run their Trenches, drawing up a Demi-culverine, within a Furlong of the Town, with which they battered the Market-House, and did some damage to other Houses; but the Cannon from the Town playing among them, did considerable Execution; and to hinder their nearer Approach, the Besieged sallied, and beat them out of their Trenches, killing about Two hundred Men, amongst whom was the *French* General *Mamow*, and others of Note, with little loss on our side, and of Note, only Lieutenant *Mac Phedrú* was killed.

The Besiegers finding this way little availed them, drew four Demi-Culverine into an Orchard adjoining to the Town, and kept continual Firing; which hurt many People in their Houses, and made some Impressions in the Walls; nor was the damage left unrequited from the Cannon of the Town, which killed them a great many Men, and some considerable Officers, and a sudden shot took off two Fryars in their Habits, as they were
exhort;

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ing the Besieged to press on the

And now to do their Work more effectually, they placed two Mortar-pieces, and threw in divers Bombs, which did some damage to the Houses and People, whereupon the Besieged sallied, and killed several of the Enemy at *Penburn-Hill*, losing only two of their own and eighteen wounded. The same day a Shot from the Town, broke and dismounted one of their Pieces on the Battery, and killed the Gunner, whereupon they drew a Trench a-croß *Windmil-hill*, from the Bog to the River, and there raised another Battery, lining the Hedge with Dragoons; but at the same time the Besieged sallied in a considerable number, and dividing one part, made them Masters of the Trenches and advantageous Ground, killing about Two hundred; whilst the other Party beat the Dragoons from the Hedges: which reiterated Losses so enraged the Enemy, that having Captain *Cunningham*, and Lieutenant *Douglass* upon some Sallies, they, after Quarter given, put them to the Sword, which served to confirm the Besieged in the belief of the Mercy they were to expect, if they fell into their hands, and made them more obstinate in a resolute Defence: and alluring the Governour out, under pretence of Treaty, they fired a hundred Shot at him; yet none of them had the power to hurt him, by reason upon their first presenting, he sheltred him behind the Ruines of an old House, and retired into the
Town

Town cautious how he trusted them any more.

The Besiegers by this time grown weary of continual Duty, and the danger they were exposed to, drew off their main Body, and encamped on a Hill about two Miles from the Town, yet left it entirely besieged.

On the Fourth of *June*, a Squadron of Voluntier Horsemen, who promised upon Oath to do great things, supported by a Detachment of Foot, made an Attacque upon the *Windmil*-work, resolving to force the Line, coming on with loud Shouts and Huzza's; but were frustrated in their Enterprize, being beat off with considerable loss, Four hundred of them were accounted to be killed; and to secure their Retreat, the Foot carried Faggots at their Backs, and those that had none, hoisted the dead Bodies, and carried them away on their Backs to dead the Shot.

On the part of the Besieged the loss was very inconsiderable, only Capt. *Butler* pressing too eagerly after the Enemy was taken Prisoner, and a few killed by a great Shot coming over the River.

These several Defeats and Disappointments of taking a place they before had thought so casie, that the *French* General upon the first view, swore he could beat down the Walls with Pot-guns, so enraged the Enemy, that they were resolved to make all the effort imaginable, and the next Night played Bombs,
some

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some of them 273 pounds, which broke up the Streets, beat down several Houses, and killed divers Persons; which occasioned some Consternation, and the more, when their Stores of Provision began to fail, and Famine to encrease, so that they needs must have been disheartned, had they not been encouraged by the discovery of thirty Sail of Ships in the Lough, which were sent to their Succour from *England*, under the Command of Major-General *Kirk*, with Provision, Men, and Ammunition; but the River being chained up with a floating Boom a-croß it, and Batteries of the Enemy on the Bank, he could not only for several days get up, but had much ado to have Communication by Letter; yet the hope of Relief so near at hand, kept up the Spirits of the besieged, and encouraged them to a vigorous defence, though many died daily for want.

Monfieur de Rosen, the *French* Marshal, by this time arrived in the Enemies Camp, and understanding the little progress they had made in carrying on the Siege, fell a swearing, *By the Belly of God, he would not only demolish the Town, but bury the Besieged in their own Ruins.* But upon the Attacques he made, found no better Success than the rest: and the Lord *Clancarty*, who they said was destined by an old Prophecy to take the Town, making an Attacque, and being beat off with great loss. Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, who had falsified his Trust to King *William*, and revolted to the Enemy, upon his being sent from

from *England* to pacifie Matters in the beginning, came to make large Offers, but was rejected by the Besieged with Indignation; nor was *Rosen's* Promises and Threats regarded: whereupon he pitched upon a *French* Politick, imagining that would infallibly do, viz. he caused all the miserable Protestants to be gathered out of the Countries round about, and driven half naked and starved there to perishi, if the Besieged refused to succour them, whose Wants, though they pierced their Hearts, having very slender Provision in the Town, they could not relieve, and therefore kept the Gates shut against them, yet firing among the Enemies Party that drove them, four or five of them fell dead with the Shot: and now there being several Prisoners in the Town, who had several Relations of Note and Command in the Enemies Camp, the Governour, and the rest, caused a Gallows to be set up in the sight of the Enemy, threatening to hang the Prisoners thereon, if those miserable People were not suffered to return to their Habitations, yet leave given them to write to their Friends, to know what they would do on their behalf: *Rosen* returned them no Answer; but *Hamilton* returned them a slight one: however, this Stratagem prevailed, and the People were permitted to return: which proved advantageous to the Garrison: for amongst them Five or Six hundred poor Starvelings were shuffled out, and some able Bodies taken in.

Another Stratagem they had to shoot Letters

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ters into the Town in the dead Shell of a Bomb, *viz.* not filled with Poudre, as imagining the Governour, and other Superiour Officers kept their Proposals from the Soldiers; but this enraged them the more, and it was made Death so much as to discourage of a surrender. About the Thirtieth of *June*, Major *Baker* died; yet the Defence continued as vigorous as ever, and divers Sallies were made, though the Garrison through Famine, Diseases and Loss was lessened near one half, and the Famine increased so fast, that Horse-flesh was sold for Eighteen-pence the Pound, and but little of that to be had: A Quarter of a Dog, that fed upon the dead *Irish*, at Five Shillings and 6 *d.* his Head at Half-a-Crown, a Cat at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* Rats, Mice, Tallow, Greaves, and all noysome things that could be possibly eaten, proportionably; so that in the whole Town there was but Nine lean Horses left, and a Pint of Meal, and a little Tallow to each Man, when Providence so ordered, whilst they were at their Devotions, News came, that Ships were making their way up the River; which to their great Joy and Comfort proved true: for Major-General *Kirk* having Notice that the Town could hold out no longer, ordered the *Mount-Joy* and *Phoenix*, and *Mount-Joy* guarded by the *Dartmouth*, to force their way at any hazard, which they did through the Showers of the Enemies Shot, and found the Boom broke; one of them however struck upon a shelve, yet the Stock of her Guns set her free again, and

and they came safe to the Town, bringing Life to a dying People : which the Enemy perceiving, thought it to no purpose of staying longer before it, least they should receive worse disgrace, but in some confusion raised their Camp, firing *Culmore*, and divers other Places in their Retreat, breaking for hast some of their great Guns ; and had a Party of the *Innikilling*-Men, and some of the Garison upon their Rear, who cut off, or took Prisoners the Straglers, with some Booty ; the former having before defeated Lieutenant-General *Macarty*, they likewise threw about twelve Cart load of Arms into the River for want of Carriages to bear them off ; and lost before the Town in a Siege of one hundred and five Days, for so long it lasted, between 18 and 19000 Men, and among them 100 of their best Officers.

And now pardon me, Reader, for insisting so long upon this particular, which I could not slightly pass over, since (if we consider the Weakness of the Place, few of the Men that defended trained up in War, the Scarcity it endured, and the time it held out against a powerful Army, backed by almost a whole Kingdom) it may very well compare with the most famous Seige that ever was mentioned in History.

Major-General *Kirk* soon after these Succours got in, came to *London-Derry*, and was received with all the Demonstrations of Joy a People in so ruinous a Condition, could bestow ; and having viewed the Walls and Fortifica-

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tifications, blessed himself to think, that such slight Works could ever have been defended so long against such an Army.

Things in *London-Derry* being settled as well as the shortness of time would permit, it was agreed, That Mr. *Walker* should go for *England*, and present his Majesty with an Address in his own, and the Names of the principal Persons that had been in the Town during the Siege; where he was very graciously received, and his Majesty, as a Mark of his Favour, for the signal Services he had done him, ordered him 5000 Pound, and a Promise of his further Regard, Whilst this Siege lasted, the *Inniskilling-Men* and others of the Protestant Party abroad were not idle, but a Detachment of 600 Men were sent under the Command of Collonel *Stewart*, got into the Isle of *Inch*; and hearing the *Irish* had Fortified themselves in *Tully*, he sent a commanded Party of sixty Musquetiers, and beat them out; when more Forces coming to him, he and other Commanders raised some small Fortifications in the Island, and there succoured a great many Protestants who fled from the Enemy with their Cattle and Substance, and others that had been stripped of all, and came naked; beating divers Parties of the *Irish* that attempted to force him from his strength; and the Duke of *Berwick* being sent this way with 1500 Horse, attempted to force *Ralsamulin*, where a small Party of our Men quartered; but having timely notice, getting to their Arms, and Barroading the Street, the Enemy,

my, after a sharp Dispute, drew off with the Loss of 240 Men; and on our part only Lieutenant *Coningham*, and a few private Soldiers, and a Lieutenant wounded: However, very desirous to bring these Parts into Subjection, nothing was omitted that Threats or Allurements could effect; but neither of them prevailed against the steadfast Loyalty of the Protestants; they too sadly remembered how often they had broke their Words, and how little they esteemed keeping it with those they termed Hereticks; one fatal Instance of which take for many:

It happened that the Lord *Galmoy* being abroad with a Party, took Captain *Dixie* Prisoner by surprize in his Father's House, which House he set on fire, and with him brought away Cornet *Charlton*: but hearing one *Brian Mac Kingbor Mac Gurrie*, a Captain of the Irish Army, had been taken by our Men, and was Prisoner at *Cran*, he sent to the Governor of the Castle, to offer Captain *Dixie* in Exchange, vowing upon his Honour, so soon as *Gurrie* came, *Dixie* should be sent them: This was well accepted, and *Gurrie* was sent, but *Galmoy* thereupon ordered the two Young Gentlemen to be tryed by a Council of War, for receiving a Commission from *England*; and being sentenced, had orders to prepare to dye the next day, but in the mean time great Endeavours were used, and Promises made them of Life and Preferment, if they would turn Papists, and adhere to King *James*. But they generously rejected the Offer, and preferred

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ferred their Religion before the saving their Lives : and although *Mac Gurrie* interceeded mainly for them, and reproached the Lord *Galmoy* with the Stain of his Honour after his solemn Promise in Writing ; yet he would hear nothing on their behalf, but caused them to be hanged upon one *Russel's* Sign-Post, whilst he made merry there ; and not content with their Lives, he ordered their Heads to be cut off, and tossed to the Souldiers to play at Foot-ball with, which when they had mis-used for a time, he caused to be set up on the Marker-Cross at *Belturbet*.

This made, I say, the rest more cauteous to trust their Mercy ; whereupon the *French* General *Rosne*, resolute to Subdue them, came within the shot of their Cannon to encourage the Souldiers that were gathering in those parts against them, but a Shot had spoiled his Undertaking, had it not fallen a little too short, yet it beat up the Stones, which wounded him in the Leg, and his Horse in the Body, and killed two Troopers, insomuch, that frightened with this Disaster, he gave over the Attempt : But greater Actions than these attended the Fate of *Ireland* ; the *English* Army so long expected was embarked, and came on with a fair Wind, being discovered some Leagues at Sea, by the longing People who watched for it on the Shore, and proclaimed its Arrival by their loud Shouts and Acclamations of Joy : And on the 13th of *August*, 1689, Duke *Schombergh*, who commanded the Forces, landed at *Carickfurgus* ; and after a short

Enquiry into the State of the Kingdom, he sent two Regiments to *Belfast*; and having refreshed himself, and that part of the Army that landed with him, he directed his March to find out the Enemy, being every-where received by the Protestants with the greatest Expressions of Joy imaginable: At the Terror of whose Approach the Castle and Town of *Antrim* was deserted, and our Men took possession of it, leaving there a Garison of fifty Souldiers, under the command of Captain *Ormsby*; and many other Places and Passes were secured: But *Carickfurgus* refusing upon Summons to Surrender, a part of the Army set down before it; and the next day the Cannon and Mortars were planted against it whilst the Trenches were opened, and no sooner they heard the *English* speak to them in a Dialect of War, from the Mouths of their Cannon, but they beat a Parley; but the main import of their Request being to send to King *James* to have his Leave to Surrender: it was rejected, and the Mortars and Cannon began to play against the Town very furiously, they answering us with their Cannon in like manner, especially anoying our Men with two Peices advantageously planted in the Lord *Dungale's* House; yet our Bombs did great Execution, beating down and setting many Houses on fire: Several of our Ships that lay in a Line, played likewise their Cannon on the other side, and no less indamaged the Besieged; whereupon they again desired a Parley, but insisting to March out with their
Cloaths

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Cloaths and Baggage, the Duke would not agree to it, only allowing them to be Prisoners of War; and again the Batteries were renewed; they again hung out a White Flag to Parley, and upon submitting to a Surrender, were allowed to be conducted to the next *Irish* Garison; whereupon Sir *Henry Ingolsby* marched in with his Regiment, and took Possession of the Place.

By this time fifty Sail of Ships came up the Lough, on board which were a Regiment of Horse, and four of Foot, who joyning the Army, the General marched towards *Belfast*, and were two Miles beyond *Lisneygarny* on the 2d of *September*, which made the Enemy retreat with much Precipitation; yet they took so much time as to set divers Places on fire; whereat the General was so incensed, that he sent to tell the Commanders of those Parties, That if they desisted not from using such *French* Tricks, they must expect no Quarter, if they fell into his hands; which made them upon quitting *Dundalk* leave it entire.

The Duke finding the Plains of *Dundalk* commodious to Encamp on, and the Winter Season approaching, caused the Tents to be pitched, whilst the Enemy's Army between 40 and 50000 fortified and entrenched about *Ardee*.

Slego being still in the hands of the *English*, a Party of the Enemy consisting of about 5000 Horse and Foot, advanced that way in hopes by Force or Surprize to make themselves Masters of it: But Colonel *Lloyd*, who
Com-

Commanded the *Inniskilling*-Men, having notice of their Design, drew out about a 1000 Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, and Lining the Hedges of the Lane of *Boyle*, where they were to pass, with his Foot, he drew up his Horse on a rising ground, and charged the Enemy so suddenly, that after a smart Engagement he put them to Flight in great Confusion; and taking a nearer way with his Horse and Dragoons, got into *Boyle* before the Enemy, and charged them again in the Front, whilst the Foot did the like in the Rear; so that 700 were cut off, and about 400 taken Prisoners, with *O Kelly* their Commander, and forty other Officers of note; and by this Rout 8000 Head of Cattle were recovered, which the Enemy in their Ravaging the Country had got together, also a great many Arms, Ammunition, and Provision; so that those Parts continued in quiet a long time after: so that the Enemy perceiving Force in vain, undertook to ruine our Affairs by treacherous Policy, but they failed in that, as in all the rest, the Project was thus: It happened that four Regiments of *French* Protestants were raised in *England* for the Service, and amongst them divers were listed that came over just then by the way of *Holland*, which being done in haste, the Colonels had no time strictly to examine them, so that amongst these there was one *Du Plessier*, who had been formerly a Captain in *France*, and fled thence for a Murther, but now served as a private Souldier, this Man sent to *Monsieur D'Avaux*, to let him know, That if

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he would get him his Pardon in *France*, and let him have the Command of such as he brought over, he would inveigle the Papists that had been unwittingly Regimented to the *Irish* Camp : Which upon his Tryal before a Council of War appearing by his intercepted Letter, and Confession, he, with four others his Accomplices, were found Guilty, and executed ; and upon a strict Scrutiny a great many Papists were found in those Regiments, and sent Prisoners to *England*. Providence by this timely Discovery frustrating the design they might have to Revolt, and endeavour the turning the Scale of Victory, if it came to a Battle.

The Plains of *Dundalk*, by reason of the Fogs and Wetness of the place, incommoding the Camp with Sickness and Inconveniency, about the middle of *November* it broke up, and marched away to the *Newry* Pass ; and beating out the Enemy, possessed themselves of the Town, and upon their attempting to recover it, were beaten with considerable loss. Brigadier *Stewart* falling upon them with 250 Horse and Foot so resolutely, that they fell into confusion, thirty being killed on the place, and about eighteen taken Prisoners, and among the number five Officers : And Colonel *Woolsey* took *Belturbet* upon the first Summons.

Nor did only the Men, but the Women baffle the Courage of the *Irish* : for a strong Party of them attempting to make themselves Masters of the Lady *Newcomen's* House, that He-

Heroick fortified it, and garrisoned with her Tenants, beating off the Enemy, and killing several in the Attacks they made, though she had no great Guns, and but a few small Shot; whereupon they found themselves obliged to bring some Cannon and a Mortar before it; which caused her to surrender, in consideration, That dismissing the Garrison to march with their Baggage to *Lisnigarvy*, she and her Domesticks might continue there in quiet. But this was not virtually observed; for getting into her House, they took away many things of value.

Whilst these things happened at Land, something remarkable, and not amiss to be recited, was done on the Water, in the Bay of *Dublin*, in spite of all the Power and Force of the *Irish*, that then possessed that Great City.

Sir *Cloufly Shovel* being on that Coast, after cruising thwart the Bay, he stood into it, and could then perceive a Ship a Mile within the Barr, whereupon resolving to fetch her out, if possible, he came to an Anchor, and went on Board the *Monmouth* Yatch, and at a little more than half Flood, the Wind being Northerly, he with that Yatch, two Men of Wars Hoys, a Catch, and the Pinnace, got over the Barr; whereupon the Ship being aware of his coming, weighed Anchor, and moved up to *Salmon-Pool*, about a Mile nearer to *Dublin*, and there run a-ground, within shot of a

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French Man of War of twelve Guns, and two or three *English* Ships that lay a-ground filled with Soldiers, who continually kept firing at our Vessels; however, they followed the Attack, and after some dispute, Sir *Cloufly Shovel* made a sign for the Fireship to enter and bear up; which when the Enemy perceived, they left their Ships, and got away in their Boats; whereupon our Men went on Board her, and having somewhat lightned her, brought her off, in turning out the Wind, veering out of the ⁸⁰⁰Sea; one of Sir *Cloufly's* Hoys run a-ground, and ^Dcould not be got off before the Water fell away from her, so that the rest were forced to lie by her, and get out her Anchors, ready to heave off, when the Tyde should return; and the Hoy being upon bare ground, thousands of People came upon the Strand, among which was King *James* with his Guards, as Spectators of what might happen, and two Protestants that had escaped from *Dublin*, got to our armed Boats, and with much supplication intreated to be taken in. However, a *French* Trooper to shew his Bravado, came riding up within half Musquet Shot, and reviling our Men as well as he could gabble *English* by the Epithets of Rebels, &c. he had so much Courage as to discharge his Pistol at that distance; but a Shot from the Boat that lay next the Shoar killed his Horse, whereupon Monsieur pulling off his Boots, left them to our Men, betaking him to his heels as fast as he could run, for fear an unwelcome Messenger should overtake him, and make him
pay

pay dear for his Vain-glory.

The Ship thus taken was the *Pelican*, the biggest of the two *Scotch* Frigats taken by the *French* the precedent Summer, carrying about twenty Guns. Three or four of those that were aboard her, were killed by the Firing of our Men, and found dead upon the Deck, besides those that were carried off, as well killed as wounded : and our Vessels having done what they came for, returned in triumph with their Prize, in the sight of a numerous People, who thought it for the most part safe't to keep at a distance.

This Ship lay here to carry off some of the Protestants Goods that had been seized in *Dublin* ; but the Freighters by this means were disappointed of their expectations.

Collonel *Wolsey* being still abroad with a Party to observe the Enemies Motions, having with him a Party of 700 Men, out of the Regiments of *Kirk*, *Earl*, *Grover*, and the *Innskilling* Troops, he ordered half of them to make an Incurfion towards *Finag*, under the Command of Lieutenant-Collonel *Creichtoune*, he with the rest marched to *Kiliſſia*, a strong Castle between *Belturbet* and *Cavan*, where he by ſecret marching came by break of day, and brought his Men within Muſquet Shot of the Fortreſs, under the ſhelter of the Hedges and Ditches, and immediately fixed his Miners to the Wall, where they ſoon finiſhed a Mine, and were ready to ſpring it by Ten the next Morning ; whereupon the

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Collonel sent to Summon the Garrison, upon which they sent out an Officer to treat, and about two hours after the Conditions were agreed on.

Which were, That the Garrison should march out with their Arms and Baggage; and accordingly the Castle Gate was delivered about Noon, and the Garrison commanded by one Captain *Darchy*, marched out within an hour after, consisting of 160 Men detached out of several Regiments; and according to Articles agreed on, were guarded to *Cavan*: so that this strong place was reduced with the loss of three Men on our side, and four or five wounded; it being of great Importance to Their Majesties Affairs; by reason it opened a free passage into *Connaught*, and all that part of *Leinster* that lies on the *Shannon*; and after having put in a Garrison of One hundred Men, he returned to *Belturbet*, and was there reinforced by a Battalion of *Danes*, to enter upon further Action, as he found it advantageous to the Service. Inasmuch, the *Irish* Parties were so frequently met withal, that they came not abroad so often as they were wont; by which means our Men had the better leisure to get in Hay and Corn to the Magazines, which they frequently adventured for in the Enemies Quarters, and for the most part succeeded so well, that they mainly encreased the Stores; so that with that, and what came from *England*, the Camp, and Out-Quarters were plentifully supplied; and even the Papists chose rather to bring in their Provisions

to our Camp than the Enemies, for Self-Interest, by reason of the disproportion in the Money, as taking valuable Coyn in ours, and only Copper and mixed Mettal at a vast disproportion; in the other promised to be changed hereafter into better Coyn, though they knew not when, nor cared to rely upon such uncertainties.

About this time the damp Fogs arising in the Country, a great many Officers and Soldiers died in either Camp; but the destruction light mostly on the *French*, in comparison of their number, who coming out of a warm dry Country, could not so well endure the incommoding Vapours, and cold Damps, which the frequent Rains that fall in *Ireland*, especially when the Season is any thing considerably advanced towards the Winter Quarter.

And now that the Blessing of God might be upon Their Majesty's Arms, and Judgments averted, the General caused his Proclamation to be published throughout the Camp, and in other places, strictly prohibiting Swearing, Cursing, and Prophaneness in the Officers and Soldiers on pain of Displeasure, and such Punishments as might be inflicted; which for a time stopped those Volleys of Oaths and Curses, that were wont to be heard on every trivial occasion.

The General went out with a Party to view the Enemies Posts, and Situation of the Country, and upon his return to *Liburn*, where now his Head Quarters were, he received the welcome News, That Collonel

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Woosley marching from *Belturbet* with Seven hundred Foot, and Three hundred Horse, notwithstanding his being discovered by the Centinels, who gave the Alarm, and the badness of the Weather, he got thither half an hour after break of day, and there, contrary to his expectation, found the Duke of *Berwick* arrived with Twenty five thousand Men, which with the Garrison made up about Four thousand, and these were drawn up in good order near the Fort; yet the Collonel took Courage, resolving to charge them, ordering his Men as the ground gave opportunity, and soon they joyned in a fierce Encounter, the *Inniskilling*-Men standing to it manfully; so that notwithstanding the great odds, in two hours time they beat the Enemy out of the Field, with considerable slaughter; in which Action the Duke of *Berwick* had his Horse shot under him, and Collonel *O'Rely*, Governour of *Cavan* was killed, as also two Lieutenant-Collonels, and divers other Officers of Note.

The Enemy beaten out of the Field, our Men too eager of Plunder, entered the Town before they had gained an entire Victory; which the *Irish* perceiving, rallied, and those in the Fort sallied upon them; so that in the scattered disorder they were in, they had been mostly cut off, had not the Collonel with a Reserve of Two hundred and fifty Foot, and Eighty Horse hastened to their rescue, and given them leave to get to their Arms, and although he beat the Salliers into the Fort, and
made

made the others retire ; yet the Town being a Magazine, and full of Plunder, he could not get his Men out, till he was forced to fire it about their Ears, whereby great Stores of Provisions were consumed ; for most of the Houses were filled with Bread, Meal, Oats, and the like, being a Six Months Provision for the Garrison : and by this Defeat, and the Ruine of the Town, the Duke of *Berwick* was disappointed of his Design, which by his Orders, was to Post there with Ten Thousand Men, to be composed of a Detachment of all the Regiments, and so to keep the Country in awe, and make Incurfions as he perceived it advantagious.

In this Action, on our side were only Twenty Men killed, of which number were Captain *Armstrong*, Major *Trabern*, Captain *Mayo*, and Captain *La Maugere* ; but the Enemy lost above Three hundred, and Two Hundred taken Prisoners ; many that fled threw away their Arms and Baggage for haste.

Upon this success, Sir *John Lanier* being at the *Newry* with a strong Party, advanced to *Dundalk*, and from thence to *Bedlow* Castle, where was a Company of Foot, consisting of between Thirty and Forty Men ; but the Dragoons soon stormed it, killed divers of them, and set the Castle on Fire, and upon their return attacked *Dundalk*, wherein the Enemy had a Garrison ; but they kept close, and would not venture to sally, and our Men

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Not Being strong enough for a formal Siege, Plundered the Houses thereabouts, and marched away with a considerable Booty.

About this time the Prince of *Wirtemberg* landed with the *Danish* Forces under his Command, for Their Majesties Service, and in a short time joyned the Army.

Coll. *Callimot* attempting to surprize the strong Fort of *Charlemont*, but being too soon discovered, he was obliged to Retreat; which he did with the loss but of one Man.

Spring coming on, *Lewis* the Fourteenth was not altogether unmindful of his Promise, but sent Five thousand *French*, with some Cloaths and Ammunition, in lieu of which Succours, as many *Irish* were sent to *France*, under the leading of Lieutenant-General *McCarty*, who having been taken Prisoner by the *Inniskilling*-Men upon the great Overthrow, had by this time made his escape; for which Collonel *Hamilton*, Governour of *Inniskilling*, where he had been detained Prisoner, was questioned; but upon Tryal producing a Letter from his Superiour Officer, for what he had done, the matter passed over.

Collonel *Woosley* about this time had the Castle of *Killesandra* delivered to him upon Summons, the Garrison being terrified into a compliance, upon Notice he was about to spring a Mine under it, the Garrison consisting of 160 Men, were conducted to *Cavan*; and many other Castles and advantageous places were frightened at the approach of our Forces,

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ces, or compelled to surrender : and great Plenty abound in the *English* Camp, by reason those that brought it received Silver Money : when on the other side King *James* had caused Brass Money to be coyned, and an order to pass it at certain Rates, though it was not a Twentieth part of the Value ; yet prohibited it in Payments in his Custom-House and Exchequer : and having called a pretended *Irish* Parliament, they annulled the Act of Settlement, and all other Acts favourable to the Protestants, relating to Matters Civil or Ecclesiastical ; so that Protestant Bishops and Ministers were out, and Popish Bishops and Priests advanced to their Benefices, and great Oppressions used on all hands : but whilst this was doing, *Charlemont*, a strong Fortress of the Enemies, that had been all the Winter blocked up, finding no Succours of Provision, though some of Men got in over the Morass, which hastened the consumption of their Provision, beat a Parley, and after some debate about Articles, they were agreed upon, they being in their Order as followeth :

That all the Garrison, viz. the Governour, Officers, Soldiers, Gunners, and all other Inhabitants, the Deserters who run from our Camp, since the First of September precedent, only excepted ; and all other Persons in the said Garrison, shall have their Lives secured, and march out with their Arms, Bag and Baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, Match lighted, and Bullet

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let in Mouth, each Officer and Soldier Twelve Charges of Powder, with Match and Ball proportionable, and their Horses without any molestation in their Persons and Goods now in their possession, not belonging to the Stores upon any pretence whatsoever, that the said Garrison may march the nearest way to Dundalk, and not be compelled to march above Eight or Nine Miles a day.

That all sick and wounded Officers, and all other Persons that are not able to march at present, may remain within the said Garrison, till they are able to march, and then to have a Pass to go to the next Irish Garrison.

That none of the Army under his Grace the Duke of Schomberg's Command, shall enter the said Fort, except such as are appointed by him to take possession, till the Garrison be marched clear out of the Gates.

That there shall be a sufficient Convooy appointed for the said Garrison, to conduct it to the place before-mentioned.

That they shall deliver fully and wholly without any Embezelment or Diminution, all the Stores belonging to the said Fort; and that an Officer shall be immediately admitted to take an Account of them.

That the Fort shall be put into the possession of such Forces as his Grace shall think fit at Eight of the Clock on Wednesday the Fourteenth of May, 1690; and the Garrison shall march out an hour before the outward Gate shall be delivered to such Forces as the General shall appoint in case a supply of one Month's Provision for

800 men be not brought into the Garison for Relief between the signing of these Articles, and the time the place is Articled to be delivered up.

That the above-mentioned Articles shall be inviolably performed on both sides, without any Equivocation, Mental Reservation, or Fraud whatsoever, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof.

Lastly, That all Acts of Hostility shall cease between the said Garison and Army, so soon as Notice can be given on both sides.

Thus, after a long holding out, this strong Place was forced into a compliance, notwithstanding the Enemy had put such confidence in it, that many of those abroad proposed it as a last Refuge, if things came to greater Extremity, its Scituation and Strength giving them Incouragement to hope it was Impregnable: And indeed it had baffled our Men in some Attempts they made on it, and held out so long, contrary to expectation; however at last, we find that was agreed to be surrendered, and accordingly it was Surrendred, and the Governour Teague O Regan, and the Garison, who had near consumed all their Provision, marched out in number 800; they left 17 Pieces of brass Cannon, 2 Mortars, and a considerable quantity of Ammunition. And this place by Nature and Art being exceeding strong, greatly availed to the keeping, all that part of the Country in awe. And what more exceedingly heartned the Soldiers,

was

was the news that the King of *England* had left *Whitehal* on the fourth of *June*, and was coming for *Ireland* with a considerable Army, great Sums of Money, stores of Ammunition, and all things necessary for the vigorous carrying on and expediting the War: Nor were they deceived in the Report; for on the fourteenth of *June* he landed at *Carickfergus*, and went from thence to *Belfast*, where he was waited on by Duke *Schomberg*, and many of the great Officers, and with him came not only some of the *Irish* Nobility, but a great many of that Country, who had fled for *England* to avoid the Danger that threatned from the Papists; and great was the Joy of the Protestants for his Arrival, and as much on the other hand the Terrour and Consternation of the Papists.

His Majesty, soon after his Landing, ordered 200000 *l.* to be brought on shoar, and fifteen Tun of Half-pence and Farthings of the new Tin coin, and gave notice to all the Agents of Regiments to bring in their Accounts within three Days, that they might receive the Moneys due to the Soldiers; and care thereupon was taken to clear their Quarters, and discharge the Country.

The King thus Landed, to the great Joy of all the Protestants, every one laboured who should be formost in shewing their humble Gratitude for his Exposing his Royal Person to so many Dangers for their Safety, whereupon the Gentlemen of the County of *Down*, &c. presented this Address.

To

To the King's most Excellent
Majesty.

Great Sir,

WE the Sheriffs and Justices of the
Peace, and Gentlemen of the Coun-
ties of Down and Antrim, do most hear-
tily Congratulate your Majesties safe Arri-
val into this Kingdom, and do humbly
offer your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for
the great Pains and Hazard your Majesty
does undergo in restoring us to our Religion,
Liberties and Properties, and do not doubt,
but as God has made your Majesty mira-
culously Instrumental in re-establishing those
Blessings in the Kingdom of England, so
he will in this distressed Country; which
that he may do, and grant your Majesty a
long and prosperous Reign over us, is the
heartly Wish and Prayer of

Your Majesty's,

Faithful and most Obedient

Subjects and Servants, &c.

On

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On this Occasion likewise the Clergy of the Churches in the Province of *Ulster* presented their Address, as did the Presbyterians, and those of their Perswasion in the North of the Kingdom.

The like from the Mayor, Aldermen, &c. of *London-Derry*; and another from the Sovereign Burgesses and Inhabitants of *Belfast*, which created a high Satisfaction and more general Rejoycing. And here it was that Mr. *Walker*, that so bravely defended *London-Derry*, accompanied with divers of the Clergy, waited upon his Majesty, and Congratulated his happy Arrival in the Kingdom. And Parties were sent out to observe the Motions of the Enemy.

The King, intent upon the great Affair he came about, staid not for many Ceremonies and Complements; but being well refreshed, went to *Hilsbourgh*, and from thence to *Newry*, where a great part of the Army that had been under the General lay, of which he took a view, and ordered all things to the best Advantage for carrying on the War, nor was the Measures taken slow in Executing. And now whilst this is doing, let us turn a little towards *Dublin*, and see how Affairs stand in the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

It was not to be doubted, but upon the King's Landing with an Additional Army, the Papists would have been more concerned than they were; but I know not upon what false Topick they grounded their Hopes, their Concern was not so great, as might have been

expected from so eminent a Danger ; whether it was to abate the Courage of the Protestants, and startle them into a Mistake of some private Design they had against the King ; or that they had some old Prophecies, which they too much relied upon for their Success ; or that they trusted to the number of their Army, remains doubtful ; but however they kept up their Courage beyond Expectation. The Protestants in *Dublin* guessed it proceeded from the false news that 100000 men were ready to rise in *England*, and recall King *James*, or declare for a Commonwealth ; and that the *French* Fleet being very powerful at Sea, would not fail to intercept the King of *England's* Return , and so they fancied they had him as it were in a Trap. And indeed in this immergency, the Affronts the Protestants every where received, without any hope of Redress, made them not know what to think of their Condition ; nor was it long ere the Chief of them were imprisoned ; and the rest were told, They would be glad ere long to go to Mass in a short time. And they were put into frequent frights of having their Houses fired about their Ears, or at the least to be plundered of all they had. And it seems it was debated , That if it came to a Battel, and the *Irish* were worsted, the City should be set on fire, if not the Protestants massacred : But it is said, King *James* opposed it ; and on the 16th of *July* marched out of *Dublin*, to joyn with about 5000 Foot sent from *France*, and one Regiment of them being

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ing *Dutch*, and mostly Protestants, great care was taken to keep them from startling, and the whole *Irish* Army was composed of about 40000 men, besides 15000 that remained in Garisons, and 6000 of the Militia, under the Command of Colonel *Luttrel* and *Mac Gillicuddy*, who was ordered as his Assistant in the Government of the City. And hereupon a hasty Order came out, that all who walked the Streets without Bayonets or Swords, should be seized. And thereupon a great many Protestants, who could not get such Weapons, were taken up, and many of them Imprisoned. And another Order, That upon pain of Death, not above five Protestants, besides the Family, should meet together: So that the Churches, which had till this time been kept open, were shut up, and Dr. *King* Dean of *St. Patrick's* Imprisoned: Yet such was the Zeal of the Protestants in these dangerous times, that they gathered considerable Contributions for the maintenance of the distressed Clergy, and for such as were Prisoners, till they were forced to desist; all the Goals, and many of the Churches, being crowded with Prisoners, not only Citizens, but such as had been brought from *Galloway*, *Kilmainham*, and other places; many of them were stifled by crowding and want of air, and others almost famished for want of Sustenance. It would be too tedious to enumerate all the particular Sufferings of the Protestants, their frequent Alarms, Fears and many other Disturbances. Therefore let it suffice, that
though

though sorrow lasted for a night, Joy came in the morning, as by the Sequel will be Evident.

The two Armies being now in the Field, the *Irish* however declined fighting all they could; and it was given out, That King *James* designed to lead them about the Banks of the River *Boyne* to weary out the *English*, as thinking they could not pass that Stream, if defended on the further side; and after he had so done, to cross the Country and go for *Limerick*. However, lest the *English* should push on, and give him Battel, he resolved to provide for the worst, and therefore ordered Sir *Patrick Trant*, the first Commissioner of his Revenue, to have shipping ready at *Waterford* to carry him off, if things came to Extremity; for at last he found, unless he abandoned *Dublin*, which was proposed to be defended, he could not avoid fighting above ten days; for the King of *England*, impatient of delay, possessed himself of almost all the Passes and Posts that were advantageous to bring the Enemy to a Battel; and many Skirmishes happened between Parties abroad, wherein our men gained the advantage.

The Enemy by this time being Encamped near *Dundalk*, and strongly guarding a Pass, call'd *Four-mile-Bridge*, which was very difficult to force, it was resolved that our Army should march to *Market-hill*, and there to fall into the great Road that leads from *Armagh* to *Dundalk*; whereupon Major *Scravenmore* was sent out with a Detachment of 300 Horse
and

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and 20 Dragoons, to view the Road and Passes, and find a convenient place to Encamp in, and discover, if possible, the posture of the Enemy; which was so well performed, that a small Party of theirs, seeing this Detachment betimes in the Morning marching towards *Market-hill*, supposed it to be the Vauntguard of the whole Army, and there-upon gave the Alarm to their Camp that our Army was almost upon them, which, without sending to know the certainty, put them into such a fear, that they fired their Camp, and marched away; which being certified to the King, it appeared so strange, that it could not presently gain Credit: But being in a short time confirmed from all hands, the order of the March was changed, and a Dispatch sent to the Forces at *Armagh* and *Tennagee*, that they should immediately march by the great Road towards *Dundalk*: But a Detachment of 200 Foot and 50 Dragoons going from the *Newry* towards *Dundalk*, were incompassed by an Ambush of 500 of the Enemies Horse; and though our Men fought desperately, yet about 20 of them were killed and wounded, and the Enemy lost as many, with the Officer that commanded them, whose Horses our Men in their Retreat brought away with them.

On the 31th of *June* the King marched early in the Morning from his Camp at *Ardee* towards *Drogheda*, and found the *Irish* Army Encamped along the *Boyne* above the Town; but the Foot not coming up before it was late,
and

and with them the Artillery; nothing could be done that Night, but visiting the Posture of the Enemy, and the Fords of the River, which appeared very difficult to pass: However, the King Encamped within shot of the Enemies Cannon, which had like to have proved very fatal to these Kingdoms, by sending Death so near a precious Life that is so dear to them; for as his Majesty was taking a view of their Posture, a six pound shot brushed his shoulder, and razed the skin, making a large though not a deep Wound; yet he nothing daunted thereat, only caused it to be dressed, and mounting again, kept on Horseback for several hours after; and toward the dusk of the Evening, he commanded Count *Schomberg*, with the right Wing of the Horse, two Regiments of Dragoons, and *Trelawney's* Brigade, to take five Field-pieces, and go early in the Morning to try the Fords some Miles above the Enemies Camp, and if he found an Opportunity to pass over and Attaque them in the Flank, or oblige them to Decamp. And almost beyond Expectation, he passed with good Success, beating off 8 Squadrons that stood ready to oppose him; and having gained firm ground on the other side the River, drew up his Men in Battalia, sending to acquaint the King what he had done, and to receive his further Orders: But the King no sooner received the News, and perceived the Enemy were drawing up to Charge the right Wing, but he caused an Attacque to be made in three places; the first before a small Village

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lage, at a very good Ford ; at the Second the Foot waded the middle ; and at the Third the Horse were forced to swim. The *Dutch* Foot-Guards that first passed over, sustained the shock of the Enemies shot, whilst they were in the Water, not firing till they came up close, and then pouring in their Bullets. Those that were in the Village, and behind the Ditches gave way ; but five of the Enemies Battalions came up to charge them, before the Third Battalion of that Regiment had passed the River, yet ours maintained their ground, and made them retreat in disorder, leaving one of their Colours, and many dead Men upon the place ; but our Men pressing eagerly on, and advancing beyond the Village, were twice vigorously attacked by the Enemies Horse, but received no great damage ; whereupon the *Danish* Forces advanced to the Left, and the Brigadiers *Melionere* and *Hanmore* came on the Right, one being attacked by the Dragoons, and the other by the Horse, but neither did any great matter, by reason they had no Pikes : and now the thundering of the Guns, clashing of Swords, and the Cries and Shouts made a confused noise ; so that the *Irish* trembled at the Din of War.

Duke *Schomberg* having passed the River with a few Forces, at what time about thirty Officers, and others of the Enemies Life-Guard, had desperately charged the King's Battalion, and were all killed except Five, and those attempting to escape through the Village, unhappily met with the Duke, who
in

in the Firings that were made, received a shot in the Neck, doubtful whether from the Enemy, or accidentally from his own Men, whereupon he fell from his Horse, and died without speaking in Arms of a *French* Captain, who alighted to relieve him, and as he had been trained up in War almost from his Youth, so now he ended his days in the Bed of Honour. He received in this Action likewise two Cuts over the Forehead, but not very considerable. And the famous Mr. *Walker*, who held out the Siege of *London-Derry*, passing the River, received a shot in his Belly, of which he died soon after, much lamented of all that knew his Virtue and Courage.

The King all this while discharging the part of a great General, and a valiant Soldier, was every-where at hand to give Orders, and succour those that stood in need, marching with Seventeen Battalions of Foot, and the Horse he had about him, to inforce those Troops that had engaged the Enemy, though they had not much advanced towards the Right Wing; which he did with Nine Squadrons of Horse, and Twelve Battalions of Foot, and so marched them against the Enemy; who upon their approach fled, without staying to be charged, retiring in much disorder; but our Horse pressed on to overtake them in such haste, that the Foot could not keep pace with them, they took with them likewise Five small Field-pieces, and our Dragoons supported by the Horse, charged the Rear of the flying Enemy, and killed a great many of them; so
that

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that for the more speed they threw away their Arms, and what else was cumbersome; yet finding themselves hard pressed by so small a part of our Army, some of the *French* faced about, and made as if they would stand the Charge; but the King appearing on the Hills with his Troops, they fled faster than before, many of them scattering and making their escapes through the Bogs and narrow Passes, our Foot pursued them but to *Duleek*, yet our Horse had the chase of them four Miles further, till Night came on, and then the King sent them Orders to return to the Foot, and sent for Tents and Baggage from his Camp at *Drogheda*, that the weary Soldiers might repose themselves that Night.

The greatest part of the Enemies Baggage fell into the hands of our Army, as their Chariots, Tents, Arms, Cannon, Ammunition, Provision, and some Money; and what was more remarkable, a great many Arms were found laid down in Rank and File, those that owned them being run away, without so much as staying to recover them. About Three thousand were slain, and divers Prisoners of Note taken, amongst whom was Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, who deserted the King, the Trust he reposed in him; yet he was used very kindly, notwithstanding his former ingratitude; and upon this Defeat the strong Town of *Drogheda* surrendered, as did many other places thereabout.

The late King *James* who had stood at a distance to view the Fight, as soon as he perceived

ceived his Army in Rout, fled with all speed towards *Dublin*, with a very few Attendants, where he immediately called a Council, and acquainted the Magistrates of the City with the misfortune that had befallen him, declaring never to trust himself more at the Head of an *Irish* Army, who would not stand a single Charge, and then told those about him, they must shift for themselves as he intended to do; but strictly commanded the Papists not to fire the City, saying, Though he left it, he did not quit his Claim to it.

The *French* Horse under Monsieur *Lauzun*, having stood the hottest of the Fight against ours, were extreamly broken and shattered, of between Five and Six thousand, there not remaining above Three thousand five hundred. King *James* having slept very ill upon his Loss, was the next Morning alarmed with the News, that King *William* was on his way to *Dublin*; which put him into such a fear, that accompanied with the Duke of *Berwick*, the Marquess of *Powis*, and some others, scarce giving himself time for Refreshment, he left the City, and hastened to *Waterford*, where a Ship lay ready to receive him, and neither slept nor eat till he got out to Sea, and stood away for *France*: where, it seems, he received no extraordinary welcome when the great Loss and Expence of Treasures was known.

The Protestants that were Prisoners in *Dublin*, having News of what had happened, got at liberty, and possessing themselves of the

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Militia Arms, secured the City, and the Bishops of *Limerick* and *Meath* being there, got together the Gentry and chief Citizens, and formed a Committee to regulate and settle the Affairs, which in the hurry and confusion were put much out of frame and order, and pursuant thereto, they garrisoned the Castle, and secured the Stores for the King's use, sending to acquaint the King with what had happened, and to intreat him to hasten thither, and quiet the Tumult and Disorder some unruly People had raised. The King upon this Notice immediately sent thither a Troop of Dragoons, and the next day the Duke of *Ormond*, and Monsieur *Overkirk* were sent with Nine Troops of Horse, and joyfully received. Whereupon the Papists, especially such as had been over active in oppressing the Protestants, got away with such things as they could carry either by Land or Water, as fearing to be called to account for their Misdoings : so that they who had a little before tyrannized over the Protestants, found the Scene changed, and the Stream turned against them ; some indeed the Rabble had seized, and prevented from Flight ; but such was the Clemency of the King upon his coming to that City, most of them were not only set at liberty, but that the Kingdom might be quieted, he published his Declaration in these words :

William

William R.

AS it hath pleased Almighty GOD to bless Our Arms in this Kingdom with a late Victory over Our Enemies at the Boyne, and with the Possession of Our Capital City of Dublin, and with a General Dispersion of all that did oppose Us, We are now in so happy a prospect of Our Affairs, and of extinguishing the Rebellion of this Kingdom, that We hold it reasonable to think of Mercy, and to have Compassion upon those whom We judge to have been seduced: wherefore we do hereby declare, We shall take into Our Royal Protection, all Labourers, Common Soldiers, Country Farmers, Plough-men, and Cottiers whatsoever: As also Citizens, Towns-men, Trades-men, and Artificers, who either remain at home, or having fled from their Dwellings, shall by the First Day of August next, repair to their usual Places of Abode, surrendring what Arms they have, to such Justices of the Peace as are, or shall be appointed by Us to Receive them, and Register such the said Appearance of such of the said Persons as shall come and render themselves to Our Authority: For our Royal Intention is, and We do hereby declare, that we will not only Pardon all those poor seduced People, as to
E 2 their

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their Lives and Liberties, as shall come in by the time aforesaid, from all Violences they have done or committed by the Command of their Leaders during the War; but We do also promise to secure them in their Goods. their Stocks of Cattel, and all their Chattels personal whatsoever, Willing and Requiring them to come in; and where they were Tenants, there to preserve the Harvest of Grass and Corn for the Winter Supply: But forasmuch as many of them had a Legal Right to the Tenancy of several Lands, some holden from Protestants, and some held from Popish Proprietors, who have been concerned in the Rebellion against Us, Our Will and Pleasure is, That all those Tenants that do hold from Our good Protestant Subjects, do pay their Rents to their respective Landlords; and that the Tenants of all those who have been concerned in the present Rebellion against Us, do keep their Rents in their hands, until they have Notice from the Commissioners of Our Revenue, unto whom they are to account for the same: And We do here strictly forbid all Violence, Rapine, and Molestation to any who shall thus come in, and remain obedient to Us: So for those of this, or any other Rank or Quality, who are already in our Quarters, or within our Power, and Obedient to Us, We
do

do hereby charge and require, that they be not disquieted in any sort, without Our particular Command. As for the desperate Leaders of the present Rebellion, who have violated those Laws by which this Kingdom is united, and inseparably annexed to the Imperial Crown of England; who have called in the French; who have Authorised all Violences and Depredations against the Protestants; and who rejected the Gracious Pardon We offered them in Our Proclamation of the 21st of February, 1688. As We are now by God's great Favour in a Condition to make them sensible of their Errors, so are We resolved to leave them to the Event of War, unless by great and manifest Demonstrations We shall be convinced they deserve Our Mercy, which We shall never refuse to those that are truly penitent.

Given at Our Royal Camp at Finglass, near Dublin, the Seventh of July, 1690, in the Second Year of Our Reign.

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Upon this offer of Pardon, a great many of the meaner sort of the *Irish* laid down their Arms, and complied with the Contents of the Declaration, some going home to their Habitations, and many of those that were destitute of any, took the Service; and things began to carry a Face of Settlement, wonderfully altered from what before it was: So that the People, who a little before were, as it were, in Slavery, and in danger of their Lives, now found themselves at Liberty, and utterly freed from those Fears that had so long Afflicted them. And soon after his Majesty came to that City, and heard a Sermon at *St. Patrick's Church*, preached by Dr. King, suffering only his Guards, and some of his great Officers, to enter the City with him, and went that day back to his Camp to dinner, when he had given the Magistrates such necessary Orders as he thought conducing to the happiness of the place, and was Addressed by them, and by the Bishops and Clergy, wherein they expressed their abundant Joy and Gratitude for his Majesty's having been the Instrument, in the Hand of Heaven, for their great Deliverance, &c. And the Town and Castle of *Wexford* being deserted by the Governour, who fled amongst others to *France*, it declared for the King, and a Garrison was put into it.

And now the main Strength of the *Irish* Army being broken by the last Defeat, the Popish Priests every where made it their business to stir up the Rabble and looser sort of
 Peo-

People, who plundered and made great Spoil, especially in the Countries where the King's Forces were not at hand to quell them; however, the Militia frequently met with them, and many of their Ring-leaders being taken, were hanged up as Thieves and Robbers. And that the Counties might be the better settled and guarded, his Majesty made his Progress into divers of them, and appointed Sheriffs and other Officers, as he passed, conferring upon Count *Menard*, the Duke of *Schomberg's* Son, in respect of the great Affection he bore his Father, the place of great Master of the Artillery, and soon reduced *Wexford* and many other places. Yet the Enemy held by Garrisons many Towns of Strength, as *Cork*, *Galloway*, *Athlone*, *Limerick*, &c. near to the last of which *Tyrconnel* and *Lauzun* had Rallied the broken Army, so that to dislodge them, the Siege of that place was resolved on, though the Season began to advance apace towards the usual coming on of bad Weather in that Kingdom.

The King having pretty well settled the Affairs of those Counties where his Army had passed, and those that put themselves under his Protection, took it into his Princely consideration, That his Subjects had, during this War, been very much imposed upon, and abused by Moneys coined in the Enemies Quarters, and by the Order of the late King, of no value, in competition of its Premium directed by the Exhibitors, for the Relief of such Abuse to the Subject, issued out His Pro-

mation for the Suppressing it, or Reducing it to its intrinsick Value, in the following Tenor, viz.

WILLIAM R.

HAVING taken into our Consideration the great Oppression and Abuses committed by our Enemies in our Kingdom of Ireland, by making Currant Brass-Money of Copper, or mixed Metals, and raising the Value thereof to an extravagant height, thereby to enable them to continue the War against us, and to impoverish our loving Subjects in our said Kingdom, we have therefore thought it necessary to put a stop thereto; and to the end that such part of the said Copper, or mixed Metal Money, which remains in the Hands of our said Subjects, may not be wholly lost, we have thought fit to Reduce the former Value of the said Copper-Money to the Value or Standard of the like Copper-Money formerly Currant in this our Kingdom: And accordingly we do Will and Require hereby all our Subjects within our said Kingdom of Ireland, to take and receive of all such Copper and mixed-Metal Money, lately Coined in the Mint erected in our City of Dublin, at the severall and respective Valuations following,

lowing, and that the same do pass currant in the exchange of Money, and for all manner of Goods and Provisions whatsoever, and shall be received by all Officers and Collectors of our Customs, Excise, or other Branches of our Revenue accordingly; Viz.

The large Half-crown of Copper-Money, together with the Crown-piece of like Metal and Weight, lately stamped, shall pass at One penny sterling.

The small Half-crown of Copper, lately stamped, shall pass at Three farthings.

The large Copper Shilling shall pass at a Half-penny sterling.

The small Shilling lately stamped and Six pence, shall pass each at One farthing.

And our Will and Pleasure is, That all such Pewter-pence as have been lately Coined in the said Mint, shall pass for Half-pence; and all Half-pence of the like Metal, stamped in the said Mint, shall pass for Farthings.

Which several sorts of Coin shall be deemed as Currant Money, at the Rates before-mentioned, in all Payments whatsoever, within this our Kingdom.

Given at our Camp by Dublin this 10th of July, 1690. and in the second year of our Reign.

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By this we may see the great loss People of all qualities sustained, this Money being, as we elsewhere have mentioned, ordered, upon great Penalties in case of refusal, to pass at the Values mentioned, though extraordinarily superiour to the value of the Metal, as appears by its being reduced to its intrinsic Value; yet little of this fell to the share of the Protestants, who in their Extremities, thought themselves well to escape with their Lives, having no considerable opportunities to handle Money, and therefore came off with as little loss in the Reducement of it.

On the 19th of July the Royal Camp lying at *Chappel-Izard*, removed thence towards *Waterford* that still held out, whenas the King sent a Summons to the Town, requiring Lieutenant-Colonel *Hevesey*, Governour of the Place, immediately to Surrender, and that if he obeyed the Royal Mandate, the Garison should be permitted to march out quietly, and the Citizens to Enjoy their Houses, Goods and the Benefit of Trade; but upon Refusal to Expect no Quarter. 200 Horse, under the Command of Col. *Comboon* and Col. *Matthews*, went with the Trumpeter, who delivered his Message: But the Governour making divers extravagant Demands, which would have been answered with a sudden Attaque, but that his Majesty had Compassion of about 300 Protestant Families in the Town, that must have suffered in the common Calamity; wherefore in singular Clemency, he commanded the same Capitulation to be sent them which
had

had been granted to *Drogheda* the day after the Battel of the *Boyne*, with this Addition, *That the Garrison might depart each Man with his own Arms, but not with Drums beating and Colours flying*; which, after some Debate, they thankfully accepted; and on the 25th of *July* marched out, to the number of about 1600 Men, being conducted to *Mallow*, a small Town, lying in the way to *Limmerick*; but some of their Officers stayed behind, and implored his Majesty's Protection; when on the same day the King viewed the Walls of the Place, but entered not into the Town, and so returned back to the Camp, sending a Summons to Captain *Michaël Bourk*, Governour of *Duncannon* Fort, offering the like Capitulation that had been granted to *Waterford*, in case he immediately Surrendred, but upon Refusal to expect no Mercy. When instead of a positive Answer, he only desired six days to consult *Tyrconnel*; which being refused, he declared he would take that time. Whereupon the Cannon was commanded to be brought and planted against the Place, in order to a Battery. But on the 26th in the Evening, Sir *Clously Shovel* appearing with 16 Frigats, mounted with Guns of considerable Force, within shot of the Fort, it brought such a Terror upon the Garrison, that the Governour wrought to Major-General *Kirk*, that he would accept of the Terms offered; which his Majesty being made acquainted with, he was pleased to order, That they should still have the benefit of the Articles that were at first

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first proposed ; and the Fort accordingly was Surrendered. After which the King marched towards *Dublin*.

During these Transactions, divers Parties were abroad, who hindered the scattered *Irish* from getting together, Reducing some Castles, Forts, and other advantageous Fortresses and Potts, to their Majesties Obedience.

His Majesty now resolving, as is said, to besiege the strong Town of *Limmerick*, situate on the River *Shannon*, under the shelter of which the greatest part of the Enemies rallied Forces were retired, being about 25000 strong, Lieutenant-Colonel *Douglass*, who had for some time blocked up *Athlone*, was ordered to draw off, and to joyn the Royal Army on its way. The Garrison was composed of a mixture of *French* and *Irish* ; they had various Disputes about Surrendring that important Place upon honourable Terms ; but at last were prevailed with by the Earl of *Tyrconnel* to stand upon their Defence.

Whilst the Army prepared to march towards *Limmerick*, and his Majesty to be present at that Siege, had put off his intended passing over from *England*, 50 of our Dragoons approaching the Town of *Youghall*, the Place surrendered : To bring it to which, the Contrivance was in this manner ; The Garrison, that marched from *Waterford*, was conducted by those Dragoons under the command of Captain *Portnal* to *Youghall*, who telling the Governour of the Place, who was the same
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that Surrendered up *Carickfergus* the precedent Year, the certain Ruin he would bring upon himself, if he thought of holding out; and thereupon advising him to a Surrender: he after some further Debate, only desired him to expect his Answer till Ten at night, at which time he privately marched out with Three Companies of Foot, giving the Captain an unexpected possession of the Town, where he found 14 Guns mounted, and 2 without Carriages, 350 Barrels of Oats, 215 stone of Wooll, and several other sorts of Provisions, but neither Powder nor Ball.

The King being thus far on his March, a Deserter came out of *Limmerick* to our Camp, and gave Information, That the *French* had marched out of the Town with 8 Field-pieces, and took their way towards *Galloway*, there, if urgency required it, to be ready for Imbarcation to *France*; and not only those in the Town were unsettled and discontented, and that others, displeased at *Tyrconnel's* proceeding, were retired to the Mountains of *Kerry*; and such Fear the approach of our Army brought upon the Enemy, made them break down the Bridges to retard their March. However, that hindered but little, for where they found them in that Condition, they forded the Rivers; and that the People might be still assured of his Majesties Clemency towards them, another Declaration was published; and also that a Blessing might attend his Arms, a Fast was proclaimed to be observed through all the Provinces of the Kingdom under their Majesties

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Majesties Obedience, on the 15th of *August*, and to be observed constantly, during the War, on *Friday* in every Week; which was Religiously kept, as well out of a due sense of God's Mercies and Favours already extended towards the late languishing Kingdom, in a wonderful Deliverance, as what they further expected.

The Approach of our Forces was no sooner known to *Tyrconnel* and *Lauzun*, but they retired further into the Country, leaving *Monsieur Boisseau* Governour in the Town, with a very good Garrison, and store of Provision, the *French* retiring under the Walls of *Galloway*; but the Inhabitants not liking such unfriendly Guest, who sought their Master's Interest more than the welfare of *Ireland*, shut their Gates, and denied them Entrance, However, at last being received into the Town at the Instance of *Tyrconnel* and others, they shewed their Resentments by dealing very severely with the Inhabitants; and we had an account that they hanged up two of those that were most active in opposing their Admittance.

The Army approaching *Limmerick*, found the Enemy strongly posted about a Mile from the Town, and that they had lined the Hedges, from whence they fired upon our Men, but were soon dislodged, and obliged to fly to their Main-guard; and the *English* passed the River *Shannon* without any considerable Resistance, the Enemy that guarded the further shoar flying at their approach, and for haste
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left behind them several Tents, and other Materials, and Encamping within the reach of their great Guns, they raised Works to secure them from the shot, though some were killed by random Bullets. The Army was no sooner Encamped, and Entrenchers made some Advance; but the King sent to Summon the Governour to Surrender, withal, offering him very good Conditions, but he utterly refused it; returning answer, *That he was resolved to defend the place to the last Extremity.* Upon which the Trenches were opened, and the great Guns being on their way to the Camp, Colonel Sarsfield, with a strong Party, taking a great Compass, set upon those that had them in Charge, and over-powering the Convoy, killed divers of the Waggoners, not sparing their Wives, with their Children in their Arms, burning some of the Waggon and Carriages of the Cannon, Nailing up part of the great Guns, and breaking others: But upon the approach of Captain Coningham with a Party of the *Inniskilling-men*, they made a hasty Retreat; yet the Captain fell in with their Rear, killed some, took others Prisoners, and recovered a considerable Booty. So that these, and other great Guns, being brought to the Camp, Clonmel, a small Fort near Limmerick Surrendered upon Discretion, and the Garrison made Prisoners of War. And now the Batteries being raised, the Cannons spoke *English* Language in Thunder against the Town, and the Trenches were Advanced within 300 Paces of the Wall, and two Redoubts

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doubts taken, the which, and other Successes of the like nature, made them Advance towards another Redoubt. Whenas Colonel *Douglas* mounting the Guard, and the Sign appointed given by firing 8 Guns for Attacking it, those that were Detached for the Service being 150, besides Officers, fell on with extraordinary Bravery, and Entering the Fort, drove out the Enemy, killing about 40, possessed themselves of it, though the Enemy from the Town made a vigorous Sally with Horse and Foot; and the new Batteries being levelled against the high Towers, soon laid them in Rubbish; also the Bombs and Carkasses thrown in set a great many Houses on fire: So that under the favour of these Consternations the Enemy were put unto, our Men made their Advances within Thirty Paces of the Ditch, and the Cannon still playing, not only widened the Breach, but beat down part of the Counterscarp and Palisado's; so that an Attaque was made on the Counterscarp, begun by a detached Party of Granadiers, seconded by other Detachments, who soon gained it; as also a Fort the Enemy had under the Wall; but instead of lodging themselves as they were commanded, thinking Fortune was altogether now on their side, they pushed on to enter the Breach in pursuit of the *Irish* that ran thither, but the Cannon being turned upon them, charged with Cartridge-shot, the greater part of those that were Advanced were cut off, and some blown up by the springing of a Mine in the Ditch; so that by

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computation 100 Men were killed and wounded, yet they came not off without leaving the Marks of their Valour upon the Enemy. But by this time, the Army having the Elements to contend with, as well as the Enemy, by reason of the stormy Winds and incessant Rains, which not only made the River overflow, but filled the Trenches knee-deep with Water, and would in a short time, in all probability, have cut off the Communication, and hindered the Forrage from coming in, his Majesty, upon mature deliberation, thought fit to raise the Siege, and refer it to a more seasonable opportunity. So that on the 30th of *August* the heavy Cannon and Baggage were sent away, and the next day the Army decamped and marched off in good Order, strong Detachments being sent towards *Cork* and *Kinsale*: And the King having appointed the Lord Viscount *Sidney* and Sir *Thomas Conningsby* Governours of the Kingdom, and settled the other Affairs, as advantageously as might be, sailed for *England*, and landed at *Bristol*, where, as in other places, he was received with a general Joy.

Upon the King's departure, the *Irish* Garrisons thought themselves safe for the Winter at least, but found in a short time they were deceived, for other measures were taken. The *English* Fleet had orders to stand away to the Coast of *Ireland*, and soon arrived in *Cork* Harbour; and upon notice of their Arrival, the Land-Forces drew down to joyn them upon their Landing.

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Upon which the Duke of *Berwick*, who stiled himself Lord General of *Ireland*, drew off, *Lauzun* and *Tyrconnel* being already gone to *France*. Lieutenant-General *Douglas* followed after the Duke with a strong Party, to fall upon his Rear, but he Encamped so advantageously behind the Bogs, that it was not thought feasible to attempt the forcing his Camp.

A Battery of 8 Guns was raised to hinder the Landing of our Men, but two or three armed Boats forcing ashore those that were to manage and guard the Guns fled, and our men dismounted them, throwing the Carriages into the Sea; so that on the 24th of *September*, 5 or 6000 Seamen, Gunners, and Carpenters were detached to be employed in raising the Batteries and mounting the Cannon against the Town of *Cork*, and divers Boats of armed Men were sent to assist the taking it by water; so that upon the approach of the Army, the Enemy set fire to the Suburbs, and the Earl of *Marlborough*, who commanded the King's Forces in chief, having taken a view of its Situation, and finding the Enemy had quitted a Post called *Cats-Fort*, sent a Detachment to take possession of it, and then advanced his Camp within Musquet shot of the South-side of the Town, which occasioned the Enemy to set fire to the Suburbs, for fear our Soldiers should Lodge themselves in it; yet our Men advanced to the Ruins, and played upon the Old Fort from two Batteries they had raised, and the next day made a Breach
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in the Wall so wide, that the Besieged, fearing, our Men would Enter by Storm, and dreading the Consequences of Delay, they beat a Parly, and sent out an Officer to Capitulate, and Hostages were Exchanged; but the Besieged standing high upon Terms, four Regiments under the Command of Brigadier *Churchil*, were ordered to get into the Island near the Wall, where the Breach was made, which they performed by fording it to the middle, the Granadiers, commanded by the Lord *Colchester*, leading the Van, being exposed to all the Fire of the Enemy: Amongst those that attempted this, were a great many noble Volunteers, as the Duke of *Grafton*, the Lord *O Brian*, Colonel *Granvil*, Captain *Leighton*, Captain *Cornival*, Captain *Nevel*, Captain *Fairborn*, and others; but it proved fatal to the Duke, for by a shot he received, he soon after died, and his Body being carried for *England*, was there honourably Interred.

The Besieged finding that our Men would now Enter, as not being above 20 paces from the Breach, beat another Parly, but could have no other Conditions than to be Prisoners of War; to which, with some difficulty, they agreed, and the Capitulation was signed, which in the Articles was to this purpose; viz.

That upon the Garisons being received as Prisoners of War, no prejudice should be done to the Officers, Soldiers, or Inhabitants, but that the General should make it his Endeavour to obtain his

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his Majesties Mercy and Favour towards them.

That the Old Fort should be delivered up within an hour, and the two Gates the like, by 8 in the Morning the next day.

That all the Arms of the Garison and Inhabitants should be put into secure places, and the Protestant Prisoners immediately released.

That a due account should be given of the Magazines, as well of Provision as Ammunition.

And the same Night 200 men took possession of the Old Fort, and the next Morning of the Town ; the Garison, between 4 and 5000 being made Prisoners of War ; and of note amongst them were the Earls of *Clancarty* and *Tyrone*, Colonel *Macgillicot* the Governour, and divers others.

This place thus taken and put into trusty hands, the Army immediately marched towards *Kinsale*, and took their Posts about the New Fort, whilst Major General *Teteau* was Commanded with 800 men to make an Attaque upon the Old Fort ; whereupon passing the River in Boats, he on the 3d of *October*, gave an Assault, and Entered it by Storm, making at the same time, to divert the Enemy, a false Attaque ; and our Men at one and the same time giving the Bastions, some Barrels of Powder took fire, and destroyed about 50 of the Enemy, and in the heat of Fury many were killed. Those that Escaped, some fled unto the Old Castle in the midst of the Fort, and some endeavouring the New Fort, by the help

help of a Boar, the Tide being against them, they were mostly killed by the shot of our Men from the shoar, the Governour and several Officers were killed in defending the Ram-parts, and found dead in the places where they fell, and the Soldiers got considerable Plunder.

The Old Fort thus Entirely won, the General sent a Summons to the New Fort to demand its immediate Surrender; but the Governour sent back word, *That it would be time enough to talk of that a Month after.* But the General, not to be dallied, caused the heavy Cannon to be mounted, and two Attacques were ordered to be made by the *English* on the right, and the *Danes* on the left; and the more to amuse the Enemy, a false Attaque was made, and on the 15th of *October* the Cannon played all the Morning, and the Galleries were preparing to lay over the Ditch when about One of the Clock the Enemy beat a Parly, proposing that Hostages might be Exchanged in order to a Treary; which done, Articles were agreed on, and signed about Midnight; and pursuant thereto the middle Bastion was to be delivered up the next Morning, and about 1200 men, of which the Garison consisted, were to march out the day after. And the principal of the Prisoners taken here, and at *Cork*, were shipped for *England*; but some of them met with a sad Disaster on the Coast; for being put on Board the *Breda*, by what means is uncertain, her Powder taking fire, she blew up, and most
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of those who were on Board were destroyed; the rest of the Fleet returned in Safety.

The *Irish* that yet kept the Field, were not above 10000, yet they promised themselves great Recruits against the Spring.

In the mean while the Protestants conceived great Joy at this Success, and in a grateful acknowledgment to His Majesty, who had been so signally instrumental in the Hand of Heaven for their Deliverance, his Birth-Day being the Fourth of *November*, Old Stile, was observed in the reduced Places in an extraordinary manner, but especially at *Dublin*, where the Militia consisting of 2500 Foot, and two Troops of Horse, and as many of Dragoons, were drawn out, and gave several Volleys; and in the Evening there was very fine Fireworks before the Lords Justices House on *Colledge-Green*, and by their order Claret was distributed to the People, who drank Their Majesties Healths with all the Expressions of Duty and Loyalty; and most of the Nobility and Gentry in and about the City, were invited by the Lords Justices to a splendid Entertainment and Banquet, the Day concluding with Ringing of Bells, and the Night with Bonfires and Illuminations, as also other Publick Demonstrations of Joy and Triumph.

The Fifth of *November*, being the Anniversary of the Popish Powder-Plot, the Lords Justices attended by the Nobility, Judges, and other Persons of Quality in the Town, with
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the King and Herauld at Arms, and the Ensigns of Honour carried before them, went to St. *Patrick's* Church, and after their Return, the Lords Justices gave the Nobility and Gentry another splendid Entertainment, Their Majesties Titles being at the second Course proclaimed in *Latin*, *French*, and *English*, by the King at Arms, the great Guns in the Castle continually thundring the general Joy in their roaring Language. And that the Common People might not be wanting in sharing of their Bounty, a whole Oxe, and a Hogshead of strong Beer was dealt out amongst them, and at Night the general Joy was concluded with Bonfires, and other Demonstrations of Publick Satisfaction.

The Soldiers being now mostly in their Winter-Quarters, that they might have good usage, and the Inhabitants of those Towns where they were quartered at the same time receive no damage, the Lords Justices thought it necessary to give their Orders concerning those Matters, and accordingly issued out their Proclamation for regulating the Quarters of the Army, and ascertaining the Rates to be allowed for the Soldiers Diet, the Prizes of Provisions, and the manner how the Inhabitants that trusted them should be paid for what they delivered out to them.

The Rapparies having already been fairly warned to desist from their Ravages, and Burnings in the Countries under Obedience; they notwithstanding enterprizing the like, Captain *Archer* upon Notice that a Party of
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them were abroad, marched against them with about twenty of the Militia ; but upon his approach finding them much stronger than he had been informed, after a hot dispute he found himself obliged to retire with the loss of four of his Men ; however, not giving it over, he immediately raised more of the Militia, and the next morning by break of day fell upon them a second time with better success for having put them to rout, he killed about twelve of them, and took twenty Prisoners, enriching his Men with such Booty as those People had scraped together, in those Countries where they had been for a considerable time doing much mischief.

And now the Lords Justices and Council having reason to suspect, that several dangerous Persons coming to the City of *Dublin*, as Spies from the Enemies Quarters, and upon other wicked Designs, were sheltered in that City by Papists, Natives, who kept Taverns, and other Publick Houses, and there frequently met to continue as much as in them lay, the Subversion of Their Majesties Government, and the Ruin of their good Subjects of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, thought fit to put out their Proclamation, to prohibit and forbid all Papists, Natives of the Kingdom, to sell any Wine, Beer, Ale, or other Liquors by Retail, after the 25th of *December*, 1690, upon pain of being proceeded against as Retailers of Wine and other Liquors without License.

By this time one *Mac Finnan* having got together about Four hundred Men, being a mixture of the *Irish* Army and Rapparees, marched towards *Castle-town*, to surprize thirty Dragoons, commanded by a Lieutenant detached thither from their Quarters at *Iniskeen*, and although they had all the advantage they could wish, yet the Lieutenant and his Men behaved themselves so bravely, that they killed ten of their Enemies, but having spent their Ammunition, and five of their own Partry being killed, they found themselves constrained to surrender, and had Quarter given them, yet the Lieutenant, his Serjeant, and several of his Men were put to the Sword in cool blood : however the Alarm reaching *Iniskeen*, Major *Culleford*, who commanded their Advanced with another detached Partry, and falling upon them in the height of their success, put them to the rout, killing about 12 on the place, took 5 Prisoners, without the loss of a Man on our side.

Nor were the Commanders His Majesty had intrusted less watchful on all parts ; for Major-General *Tettau* marching from *Cork* to *Killcreagh*, and on his way being joyned by others, so that he made up a Body of 2200 Men, he entred the County of *Kerry*, where the Enemies Troops retired before him, and coming to a Fortification at *Scrovolard*, he attacked it, and in two hours took it with little difficulty ; when advancing along the edge of the Mountains, and sustaining the Rapparees fire, without receiving any considerable da-

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image, they discovered towards *Brewster* Field, some of the Enemies Scouts, whereupon 70 of our Dragoons and Horse having the Vanguard, came up with a Party of 160 of the Enemies Horse, who not enduring the Fire of our Men, upon the first Charge retreated, and falling by degrees into confusion, at last came to plain running, though there were several *Irish* Nobility, and some considerable Officers amongst them; yet such as our Men had not yet attacked, put, by this time, the Country round about in a flame, and our Forces not being far from *Killarny*, halted thither with all the speed they could to save that place; and notwithstanding the Enemy upon their approach left it, yet about twenty Cabbins were burnt by two Troopers that stayed behind for that purpose, who as a Reward of their Undertaking, were killed by our Men, and *Brewster's* Forge saved, and put divers of the Enemies Parties, then abroad, to the rout, clearing the Country in a manner on that side, whilst the *Irish* only bore up the little Courage they had left, relying much upon the further Aid they expected from *France*.

However, though the Season was far advanced, our Men gave it not over as yet, but for the better securing Winter Quarters, and preventing the Country from Plunder, they took in several Castles, as the Castles of *Baham* and *Rea*, into which *Baldorick Mac Donnel* had put a Garrison of 100 Men, confining by this means the *Irish* that were in Arms to the Province of *Ujster*; whereupon the gross
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of our Army went into Winter Quarters, leaving some flying Parties abroad to keep under the Rapparees, who thought it now their time to rob and steal; and indeed they not only burnt the Lord Orrery's House at *Charleville*, but committed many other Outrages, though divers of them came short home; for this kind of Black-Guard not being looked upon to be Soldiers, plundering sometimes as well the Papists as the Protestants, were frequently cut off in their Attempts; and now when Force began to fail, the Enemy had recourse to Stratagems; but in this they failed, by a timely discovery, by Letters that were dropt by some Persons as they were flying to the Woods or Mountains; one of them written by one Mr. *Hogen*, who had been a Collonel in the *Irish* Army, acquainting him, That the Protestants were secure and supine in their Quarters; and that her Friends had lately done several strange Feats in the places that were under the *English* Obedience, and especially in the County of *Wick'ow*, and that the *French* in the Kingdom were very industrious to take all advantages, that *Tyrconnel* would soon return with Forces from *France*; that the Soldiers in *Dublin* were poor and miserable, and would do any thing for Bread; so that if *Sarsfield* had a mind to come over the *Shannon* with his Forces, not only the Army, but the Militia would be drawn out of the City, and then every Papist firing his own House or Lodging, whilst the Consternation lasted, they might destroy the Protestants and

secure the City, and that which had hitherto hindered them from putting the Project in Execution, was the Records of the Kingdom being there, which must needs perish in the flames ; but however, they had at last removed that Scruple, and were resolved to go on with it, &c.

This Woman was taken and brought before the Privy Council, where she was so far from denying it, that she with confidence affirmed she writ it ; and though she could not be blamed for doing what she had done, upon which she was committed to Prison. The Lords Justices upon this Discovery put out a severe Proclamation against the Papists, to disable them from putting such wicked Designs in practice, by banishing some for several miles, and taking strict Recognizance of the rest ; which, according to its true Tenor, for the satisfaction of the Curious in so weighty a matter concerning the Safety of the whole Kingdom, will not be amiss to be inserted.

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The Lords Justices Proclamation. &c.

IT having been observed that divers Papists, and others, disaffected to the Government, some of whom are lately come out of the Enemies Quarters, do daily resort unto the City of Dublin, and into the Liberties of St. Sepulcher, Thomas Court, and Donore, and do presume not only in the Day, but in the Night time, to meet in Numbers, to the Intent, as we have great Reason to apprehend them, to consult how to raise Disturbances, to the prejudice of their Majesties Government, and to continue the Rebellion of this Kingdom, as also to destroy the City of Dublin by fire, which some of them, as we are credibly informed, have threatned and designed: For Remedy therefore of the Mischief that may happen upon such Resorts and Meeting, we do hereby strictly Charge and Require all Persons whatsoever of the Popish Religion, who have not been noted House-keepers within the City or Liberties aforesaid, for the space of three Months last past, that within 48 Hours after the Publication of this our Proclamation, they depart out of the

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said City and Liberties, and repair to their several Habitations, or other places in the Country, at least Ten miles distance from this City; which if they neglect or refuse to do, they shall be apprehended, and proceeded against as Spies, and Persons designing the Disturbance of the Publick Peace. And in order to the more effectual Execution of this our Proclamation, we hereby require the Lord Mayor of the City of Dublin, and Seneschals of the said Liberties, to cause diligent search to be made immediately after the time hereby limited for the departure of such Persons, as aforesaid, into all Houses and Places throughout the City and Liberties, and a true Account to be taken of the Names and Qualities of such as shall be found therein not qualified as aforesaid, which is forthwith to be returned to us, under the Hands of the said Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Seneschals of the said City and Liberties, whereupon we will give order to have them proceeded against with the utmost Rigour of their Majesties Laws. And we do hereby further declare, That if any such Papist or other disaffected Person, after the Fourth of December next, not being House-keepers, as aforesaid, shall repair unto the said City or Liberties, and there abide by the space of 24 hours after

ter such Proclamation, without rendering him, or her, or themselves to the Lord Mayor, or one of the Sheriffs or Aldermen of the said City, or one of the Seneschals of the said Liberties, to the end it may be known in what House, he, she or they take up his, her, or their Lodging, or if above the number of five Papists, or disaffected Persons, as aforesaid, whether House-keepers or any others, shall meet within any House within the said City or Liberties, on any pretence whatsoever, either by Day or Night, or shall be out of his, her, or their Lodgings after Nine of the Clock at Night; in either of these Cases, if any Person shall be so hardy, as not to give due obedience to our Direction aforesaid, they shall be prosecuted as Contemners of their Majesties Royal Authority: And because Rewards, as well as Punishments are necessary, conducing to the Discovery of such as shall offend in the Particulars aforesaid, we do hereby publish and declare, That as we will severely punish such Offenders as aforesaid, the Receivers and Harbourers of them, contrary to this our Proclamation, so we will give a Reward of Twenty shillings to each Person who shall give Information against any such Offenders, in any of the said Particulars, to be immediately paid out of

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their Majesties Treasury upon proof of such Offence or Offences, made before the Lord Mayor of the said City, &c.

This, and the diligent search made after suspected Persons, startled the Caballars and Conspirators in such a manner, that they either dispersed or concealed themselves. So the pernicious Design of laying the Metropolis of *Ireland* in Ashes, and mixing those Ashes with the Blood of its Inhabitants, was frustrated. And indeed this appeared not to be grounded upon light Suspicion, but upon substantial Reason; for the Enemies Troops abroad were about that time moving nearer towards *Dublin*, then any other Occasion but such Intelligence or Correspondence could reasonably require, but upon this discovery retired, and the City Guards were augmented, and all manner of Caution and Circumspection used that might prevent, in any probability, the threatned Danger.

During these Transactions, those Troops we had abroad were not idle, but often marching many Miles into the Enemies Quarters, not only beat them from their Posts, and killing a great many of them; but gave the Villagers opportunity to rest in quiet under their Majesties Protection, and freeing them from those Ravagements wherewith before they were distressed; so that many, who before stood out for fear of being plundered or destroyed, came in, and joyfully laid hold of
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the gracious Pardon offered them; so that the face of things seemed to put on a Calm, considering the Tempest that a little before had in a manner disjointed and put them out of Frame.

The Enemies Regular Troops missing of the Advantages they expected, now gave way to the Outrages of the Rapparees more than ever, having before a little restrained their Insolencies, that the Advantage of Plunder might accrue to themselves; so that they committed many barbarous Murthers in Villages and Loan-houses, where their Force prevailed, being mainly incited thereto by the revengeful Priests, who shared with them in their Boory, which made our Troops, though the Season was very incommodious for marching, by reason of the Rains and quagginess of the Ground, and incroach upon them, and frequently surprize them in their Rendezvous, beating them out of their Cabins, and firing them over their Ears.

And now his Majesty providing for the Civil Affairs, the Privy Council were, the Lord Primate of Ireland, the Lord Chancellour, High Treasurer, and Archbishop of Dublin for the time being, the Duke of O'mond, Earls of Meath, Drogheda, Longford, Ranelagh, Granard, and Viscount Luburn, the Bishop of Meath, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Chief Justices of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Master of the Rol's, Principal Secretary of State, and Master of the Ordnance

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for the time being, *Robert Fitz-Gerrard*, Sir *Henry*, and *William Hill*, Esquires.

The Judges appointed by his Majesty were, for the *King's Bench*, Sir *Richard Raynel*, Mr. Justice *Lyndon*, Sir *Richard Stephens*; for the *Common Pleas*, Mr. Justice *Cox*, Mr. Justice *Jefferſon*; for the *Exchequer*, Lord Chief Baron *Hely*, Mr. Baron *Echlin*, Sir *Standiſh Harſtrong*.

Nor was the Civil Settlement alone conſidered, but likewise the Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, for the Good and Tranquility of the Proteſtant Churches of *Ireland*; viz. Dr. *March* Biſhop of *Feras*, was advanced to the Archbiſhoprick of *Caſkel*, Dr. *Teniſon* Biſhop of *Killala*, to be Biſhop of *Clogher*, Dr. *William King* to be Biſhop of *London-Derry*, Dr. *Digby* Biſhop of *Limerick*, to be Biſhop of *Elphin*, Dr. *Vigors* Dean of *Armagh*, to be Biſhop of *Ferus*, Dr. *Wilson* Dean of *Rapho*, to be Biſhop of *Limerick*, Dr. *Fitz-Gerrald* Dean of *Cloim*, to be Biſhop of *Cloufort*, Dr. *Lloyd* Dean of *Achonry*, to be Biſhop of *Killala*.

So that now the Face of things began to look pleaſant; however, though it was in the dead of Winter, our Troops abroad found ſome Action; for one of our advanced Parties, ſetting upon the Enemy near *Caſtle-Town*, they killed 22 of them, and took 5 Priſoners, and Colonel *Foulks* gave a conſiderable Deſeat to about 1500 Rapparees and trained Soldiers,

ers, killing many of them, and taking some Prisoners near the Bogg of *Allen*.

Whilst these Successes were carried on with a high hand, Colonel *Brewer* possessed himself of the Forts and Town of *Lansborough*, and defeated about 3000 of the Enemy. Soon after Major-General *Tetteau*, heightened with his frequent Success, and the beating some small Parties of the Enemy, he marched his Forces towards the strong Town of *Ross*, which had in it a Garrison of 600 Men, under the Command of Colonel *Maccarty*, the Lord's *Coursey* and *Slane*, and others of Note were also in the place, upon the approach of our Men, but not thinking themselves secure enough, they posted away for *Limerick*, and thereupon our Approaches being made, 50 *Danes*, and 50 of the Detachment out of *Kinsale*, were ordered to storm a Fort cut out of a Rock, which they did with so great a Resolution, that they froze the Enemies Courage, and soon made themselves Masters of it, putting most they found therein to the Sword, and many of those that endeavoured to swim from thence to another Rock, were killed in the Water; and marching thence to *Tralee*, General *Sheldon* abandoned it with such speed, that they had not time to set it on fire, and so it fell entire into our hands; and we having a small Fort at *Fermoy-Bridge* in the County of *Cork*, the Enemy advanced with about 2000 Horse and Foot, under the Command of one *Carrol*, who upon his Approach sent to have it Surrendered, Declaring that he knew
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the strength of the Place, and that it was not tenable. But upon his approach found such a warm Reception, that after divers firings, he being kill'd upon the place, his Men took to their Heels, and that they might glory of something, they burnt one House in their return.

Soon after this Defeat, and the routing divers Parties of the Rapparees, Colonel *Brewer* and Major *Board* went out with a detached Party of 150 Horse, and about 200 Foot from *Mullengar*, to relieve *Marescourt* and *Mayvora* with Provision; and that done, they took their way towards *Ballymore*, and dislodged the Enemy on those Passes, opening and freeing the Country, and then returned to their Stations, without the loss of any Men; and soon after this Lieutenant *Taylor* defeated 400 of the *Irish* near *Endery*.

Lieutenant-General *Ginkle*, upon notice that a great Body of the Enemy was gathering, and some of them advancing towards *Athlone*, he and Sir *John Lanier* drew out a Party to oppose them; who, upon their approach, retired in great confusion, but being pursued by our Horse and Foot, they were beat from the Retrenchments they had made, as their last Refuge; and the Chace being continued, about 200 of them were killed and wounded, and several taken Prisoners, and our Men got a great Booty of Horses; for the Enemy in their flight, being hard pressed in the Rear, quitted them, and got into the Woods.

Colonel *Hamilton* being abroad, meeting with a Party of the Enemy as they were Ravaging the Country, near a place called *Bau-trey*, set upon them, and at the first Charge put them into Disorder, and soon after to open Flight, killing about 70 of them, and taking some Prisoners with Booty, &c. And Captain *Derby* defeated another Party of them at *Birre*. And now the Rapparees being more terrible to the Country People than the Enemies Regular Forces, a Party was sent out to suppress them; so that being frequently met withal, a great many of them were killed, and some that were taken Prisoners were Executed; and lighting on a Party of about 400 *Irish*, though he had then 100 Foot, and 34 Horse, having lessened his Number by Detachments, sent to find out the Rapparees; he however drew up, and Charged them with such Bravery, that during the Action some more of his Men coming in, he put them utterly to the Rout, killed and took Prisoners most of their Officers, and recovered a great Booty. And indeed the Winter, not fit for the motion of great Bodies, was spent in the piquering of Parties, and settling the Civil, as well as Military Affairs of the Kingdom, and so continued till his Majesty went to Head the Conqueror Army in *Flanders*.

Sarsfield having a great Command among the *Irish*, many of the Enemies chief Officers being gone for *France*, under pretence of bringing

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bringing fresh Recruits early in the Spring, he drew together part of the shattered Army, and some of the Militia, at *Knockany*, with a design to attack some of our Troops that were advantageously posted; but was so warmly received, that he found his Attempts very disadvantageous to himself, and thereupon picking the most serviceable Men out of the Militia Troops, sent them to joyn the Forces he had ordered to encamp in the Province of *Connaught*, and put some of his Troops into Garrison and Winter-Quarters.

Notice being given to Lieutenant *Spencer*, that a hundred Men of the Enemies Troops were advanced within a Mile of *Copperquin* in the County of *Waterford* with a design to surprize and carry off the Recruit Horses sent from *England*, for Brigadier's Regiment, he immediately marched with a Cornet and 12 Troopers, most of his Men being gone a Foraging, and finding the Enemy in some disorder, charged them with his small Party, and pressed them so hard, that they retired into a Wood within a Mile of the place, and thereupon eighteen more of his Men coming up, part of them dismounted, entering the Wood, whilst the rest on Horseback secured the pass, the dispute lasted without firing on both sides for several hours, in which they killed forty of the Enemy, and took the Captain that commanded them, with seven Soldiers Prisoners, also their Arms and Accoutrements, only one of the Lieutenant's Party being killed, and two or three wounded.

Lieute-

Lieutenant *Purcel* being abroad with a Party, fell in with the Rapparees, and in several Encounters with them killed about a hundred, but attempting to burn their Cabbins in the County of *Longford*, was way-laid by Sir *Daniel O Neal's* Regiment of Dragoons, part on Horse-back, and part on Foot ; but Thirty five of the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, broke their whole Body upon a furious Charge, killing ten of them, and taking four Prisoners, with a Lieutenant, and pursued the rest to *Newcastle*, a Garrison they held in those parts, yet in the hasty flight many of them quitted their Horses, and took to the Bogs, where some were lost ; these Successes were followed with others no less advantageous to us, and unfortunate to the Enemy : for Collonel *Lillingstone* being going from *Roscreagh*, joyned by another from a Neighbouring Garrison, marched to *Nonagh*, where he found the Enemy strongly posted ; yet charging them with great resolution, he dispossessed them of those Posts, and beat them into the Cattle, burning the Town where they had laid up great store of Provision, and brought off a Booty of Three hundred Head of Cattle, with the loss of two Soldiers, and a Trooper's Horse, the manner of the Attack being thus :

The Collonel detached eighteen Horse, and as many Foot, and having them on Garrans, or *Irish* Horse, made all the hast he could to secure the Bridge of *Nenagh*, about half a Mile from the Town, whereupon the whole Garrison

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son came out to make opposition ; but he maintained the Pass till his Foot came up, and then leaving them at the Bridge, he advanced with his Horse towards the Enemy, who made many firings, but so soon as our Men came near, began to retreat, and by degrees disordering themselves, fell to running, but being hotly pursued, about twenty of them were killed, and a Cornet taken Prisoner, after which he sent a Detachment to secure the Pass on the other side of the Town towards *Limerick*, whilst the rest of his Men entred with the flying Enemy ; however many of them got into the Castle, but our Men burnt the Town, and got considerable plunder.

And now open Force failing the Enemy, they betook them to cruel Stratagems ; for a part of *Collonel Foulk's* Regiment being in their Quarters, near *Taughah*, about Eight of them were set upon in a private House, and murdered by surprize in a most despitiful manner, the like treatment being supposed to be intended to all the rest, had not this timely alarm'd them to stand to their Arms, and defend themselves upon suspicion of which Murders divers were taken up and strictly examined at *Dublin*, amongst which one of them being found guilty, and executed in the Castle-yard, owning at his Execution, he buried the murdered Corpse, but by no means could be induced to discover his Accomplices ; and several other were thereupon missing in other places, supposed to be made away by them by the same means ; insomuch, that the Lords

Justices

Justices found themselves constrained to publish the following Proclamation to terrifie and deter the protected *Irish* from such unmanly Enterprizes of Barbarism.

The Proclamation of the Lords Justices, &c.

W Hereas notwithstanding the great Clemency extended by Their Majesties to the Popish Irish Inhabitants of this Kingdom; whereby, upon their submission, they have had equal Protection with their British and Protestant Subjects; yet such is the inveterate and implacable Malice of many of the Popish Irish, that upon all occasions they not only relieve Their Majesties Enemies, but joyn with them in the committing and concealing many horrid Murders, one of which of Eight Soldiers of Their Majesties Army inhumanly strangled at one time, and in one place, has by God's Providence been lately discovered near this City, to have been committed by the Inhabitants of the place where the said Soldiers were quartered, for which some of the Criminals

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minals have received just and deserved punishment, and the Lords Justices being fully satisfied, that such Offences cannot be committed within the open and well-planted Counties of this Kingdom, without the contrivance and help, or at least the connivance of the protected Inhabitants; and having received full Information, that there is a Confederacy among many of the said protected Irish, to give all Aid and Relief in their power to Their Majesties Enemies upon all occasions, and to take all opportunities to destroy the Officers and Soldiers of Their Majesties Army, and other Their good Subjects, their Lordships being resolved to prevent as much as in them lies such their cruel and malicious Designs, and to punish with all necessary severity those who shall be guilty, or justly suspected of the same, do publish, and declare, That if any such Murder shall hereafter be committed in any place within Their Majesties Quarters, if the Popish Inhabitants of that Neighbourhood shall not use their utmost endeavour and diligence to apprehend the Malefactors, and immediately discover all they know of such Fact, to some Magistrate living near the place where the said Offence shall be committed, so as the said Offenders may be apprehended and brought to punishment, that

then

then the Popish Irish Inhabitants of the Parish where the said Murther shall be committed, shall be immediately put out of Their Majesties Protection, and Orders shall thereupon be given, that they be proceeded against as Spies and Enemies, according to the course of Law.

And soon after another Proclamation was published on the occasion of these Murthers, setting forth,

That whereas by Examination of divers persons it does appear, that a Romish Priest calling himself, Father Christopher Brown, who has lived many Months in several places within His Majesties Jurisdiction and Power, without being molested on account of his Orders or Religion, has been, if not the first Contriver and principal Director and Counsellor, yet a main Abettor and Encourager of the late barbarous Murthers of Their Majesties Soldiers near this City; and whereas several others have been found to have been guilty of the said Murthers who are fled from Justice, their Lordships do promise a Reward of Five Pounds, to such Persons, not guilty of the same, as shall apprehend and secure the said Christopher Brown, and

Ten

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Ten Pounds for every of the other Persons, and a Pardon to such, though privy to the said Murthers, as shall apprehend any of the said Offenders.

This proceeding stopped the issue of Blood that way, and rendred the Soldiers more secure in their Quarters, and other places where they came, the *Irish* for fear of being taken Notice of, giving them every-where in the places subject to Their Majesties better Usage.

About the latter end of *April*, Lieutenant-General *Ginkle* came from *Kilkenny* to *Dublin*, and many of the General Officers, to consult with the Lords Justices about the Affairs of the Campaign, and concert Matters advantageous to Their Majesties Service; and the *Monmouth* Yatch arrived with Money to that purpose, as likewise several Ships with Recruits of Horse and Foot. So that the Train of Artillery being by this time drawn out, the Soldiers began to draw from their Winter-Quarters near *Dublin*, and Waggon and Carriages were provided on all hands, and Parties were sent out to remove the Enemies Posts, that the Spring being come, the Forrage might not be wastfully destroyed.

Some of Captain *Green's* Militia Dragoons, marching into the Enemies Quarters, killed divers of the Rapparees, and set fire to the place that harboured them: and Quarter.

Master

Master *Chalagan* with a Party, beat the Enemies Party abroad, took divers Prisoners, and some of Note, with a considerable Booty; and by lying in the Marish Fields, a great many of the Enemies best Horfe died, and their Provision grew very scanty, which occasioned many to desert, some going to their Habitations, and others coming over to us, where such as were able were received.

About the middle of *April*, 1691, one Captain *Fitz-Gerald*, of the Enemies Party marched out with about 700 Men, of the standing Troops, to attack a strong Stone House, called *Croghan*, near *Philips-Town*, which altho it was guarded only by a Corporal and Eight or Nine Soldiers, made a resolute defence, killing about twelve of the Enemy; and had done them greater damage, had not their Powder failed, at what time they were constrained to capitulate, and give up the place. However we were not long behind-hand with them, for on the Fourth of the next Month, a small Party of our Troops was marched by Major *Wood*, from *Mountmelick*, to *Castle-Cuff* with Three hundred Foot, being Detachments of Collonel *Lloyd's*, and the Lord *George Hamilton's* Regiments, and Fifty Horfe of Collonel *Bierly's*, and dividing his Foot into several Parties, in order to surprize the Rapparees in the Bogs and Woods, and with his Horfe kept along the skirts of the Bogs, to hinder their getting off, by which means about seventy of them were killed, and a Booty recovered,
which

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which he sent away, and a Guard of 30 Men, and in the mean while, with 30 Foot and 34 Horse, beyond the *Toger* of *Mallybone*, when about 10 in the Morning he discovered two Bodies of Men of the Enemies Army, each about 400, marching silently between the Woods and the Mountains, but when they found our men had espied them, they beat up their Drums.

Upon this the Major drew up his Horse and Foot in a ploughed Field, and bid them Defiance; so that the Enemies Granadiers, thinking that our Men, discouraged at their number, would have run, came over the Hedge, but finding they stood firm to expect them, they stood, not advancing any further: In the mean while, a Detachment of the Enemy charged those Men on the side of the Wood that were sent away with the Booty; whereupon the Major wheeled off by the Skirts of the Wood, to succour them, who defended themselves by firing very briskly on the Enemy, being commanded by Lieutenant *Ellis*, and having got the Horse and Foot over the Bog, 80 more of his Men came to him, and thereupon he ordered the Foot to march in two Divisions on each side the River, he marching between them with the Horse, when being Advanced somewhat near the Enemy, and thinking the Horse might do most Service, in raking a Compass about, and falling on the Rear, wheeled about with an Intention to Surround them, which they perceiving, and at the same time being pressed very hardly by
the

the Foot, began to make an orderly Retreat; which the Major perceiving, broke in upon their Flank with the Horse, which put them to rout and disorder, and soon after to open Flight, whilst our Horse and Foot pursued them through the Woods, and down to the Bogs, killing about 150, and among them Captain *Charles*, and two Lieutenants, taking Prisoners Major *John Fitz-Patrick*, who commanded them, and 5 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, and 2 Ensigns, belonging to the several Regiments of Colonel *Butler*, Colonel *Robert Grace*, Colonel *Luttrells* Dragoons, Colonel *Moor*, and Sir *Maurice Eustace*, and about 150 private Soldiers, among which were 6 Serjeants, 17 Corporals, an Adjutant-Major, a Chyrurgeon, 3 Drums, and about 150 Musquets: Which Victory is to be accounted the more brave and great, because the Courage and Resolution of our Men carried it against such odds; we having only a Corporal killed, and Adjutant *Robinson*, with two foot Soldiers and a Trooper wounded.

Nor was this all the Success about this time, for 110 Foot, commanded by Captain *Clayton*, being sent for from *Cork* to relieve the Garrison of *Ballymaggooly*; they were in their March observed by a considerable Body of the Enemies Horse, but they durst not Attaque them; yet those that were relieved, marched out about 12 in the Evening, commanded by Captain *Thorncroft* and Lieutenant *Hays*; and about break of Day they were discovered by about 300 of the Enemies Horse
and

and Dragoons, who it was thought lay in wait for them; as also a considerable number of Rapparees: and our Men being all Foot, thought not the open Fields secure against the Horse, but for their better Defence, drew into an old Pound, having a Wall about it Breast-high; when by this time the Enemies Advance Party coming up offered them Quarter, but they answered only by the firing of their Musquets; however, all the Enemies Troops being come up, they made many Attacques upon our Men, to force them from their Strength, yet they sustained their firings with little hurt; but in returning it, killed a great many of the Enemy, who were commanded by Brigadier *Carrol* and Sir *James Cotton*, which so discouraged them, that after they had offered our Men Quarter upon Surrendering, and it was refused, that they marched off, carrying away the wounded and most noted of those that were killed; yet they left behind them 3 Captains and 10 Troopers slain, and Major *Slingsby* desperately wounded, which they thought were too near our shot to be carried off; and in all they had between 40 and 50 killed and wounded, and of ours 10 were killed, and 5 wounded, and Major *Slingsby* was carried Prisoner to *Cork*. And much about this time one *Walter Brown*, who had been High-Constable of the Barreny of *Delwin*, being taken as a Spy, was Executed, and Captain *Pallasor*, being abroad with a Party of our Men, consisting of about 40 Firelocks of the Army, and 20 of the Mi-

liria

liria, was by the subtil Insinuation and Treachery of one *Terence Magral*, drawn into an Ambush of two of the Enemies Regiments of Foot, and some Troops of Horse, which in that Exigency made him betake to the Ruins of an old Castle, where he caused his men to fortifie and defend themselves, which they did, continually firing upon the Enemy, till all their Powder was spent, and then prayed for Quarter; and having it granted them, they were carried Prisoners to *Nenagh*; yet the Militia and others under the Command of *Coll. Piper*, had good success in clearing the Country in dispersing the Rapparees, and dispossessing the Enemies Regular Troops of such advantageous Posts, from whence they might annoy By-Inroads, the Countries under Their Majesties Obedience, so that they began to shrink together into a narrower Circumference.

Now great Stores coming daily from *England*, and a Recruit for our Army every day expected. The time for Action drawing near, the Lords Justices (that nothing might be wanting that was conducing to Their Majesties Service) caused their Proclamation to be published for the Armies better accommodation, the Substance being in the following manner, *viz.*

G

Whereas

W Hereas the Army is now to draw into the Field, where it will be necessary that Provisions be brought in from time to time for its supply ; and that in order thereunto , all due Encouragement be given to Sutlers, and other Persons that shall repair thither for that purpose, they do strictly Charge and Command all Officers Civil and Military , and Soldiers of their Majesties Army, not to disturb or molest any Sutler, or other Person that shall have a Warrant from the Collonel of any Regiment, or leave from the Lords Justices, or the Commander in chief of Their Majesties Forces, to follow the Camp for this Service, that they do not presume to take any thing from them , or use any Violence towards them, upon pain of being proceeded against with the utmost Severities : And all Colonels, and other Officers in chief, are to take care, that the Officers and Soldiers do pay for all such things as they shall be furnished with by the Sutler, according to the Rates that shall from time to time be settled ; and that the Forces may be more plentifully supplied, and those unnecessary Persons prevented from following the Camp, who are only an Incumbrance to it ; and it being found by experience, that the Country has suffered

extreamly by them, they have not only robbed and plundered it themselves, but have inticed the Soldiers to do the same; for the preventing of it for the future, and that the Quarters may be the better secured, whilst the Army is in the Field, from Rapparees, and other disaffected People, the Lords Justices do hereby order and direct all Their Majesties Protestant Subjects, as well as Papists, to stay at, or repair to their respective Habitations, for the preservation and improvement of the same, and that no Person or Persons whatsoever, except such as come thither with Provisions for the use of the Army, or upon some lawful occasion approved of by the Commanders in chief, do follow the Camp upon pain of death.

And that the People whom this War had scattered into divers places, leaving many destitute of Habitations, might again be settled, another Proclamation was issued out to this effect :

T*hat all the Inhabitants of the Counties of Waterford and Tipperary, do retire within Three Days to their respective Houses or Habitations, or to some adjacent Garrison, if they could not go home with security.*

And those belonging to the Counties of Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, are forthwith to repair either to their own Houses or Habitations, if they have any, or else to some of the Garrisons there, to be employed as occasion shall require it, or to be employed in the Militia for the defence of the Country when the Army is in the Field, according to such further Orders as shall be given them for the Publick Service.

And

And Lieutenant-General Ginkle, Commander in chief of Their Majesties Forces in Ireland, not to be behind or wanting in any thing, exhibited an Order to this effect, viz.

THat all Officers and Soldiers, and other Persons whatsoever, were strictly charged, not to press any Horse, Carts, or Carriages, without License first had from the Lords Justices, or himself in writing. And whereas that the Militia being to be in Arms for the Defence of the Country, whilst the Army remained in the Field, no Person should press any Horse actually listed in the said Militia, under any pretence whatsoever.

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About this time some other Transport-ships arrived from *England*, and brought a great quantity of all sorts of Military Provision, and about Twenty-thousand Arms, also Ordinance and Stores ; whilst the Enemies great expectation of the like supply from *France* failed them in a great measure, that King seeming now to grow weary of a War that proved so expensive to him without profit, and expecting to be sharply pressed this Summer in *Flanders*, by the Confederate Army, under the Command of the King of *England*, sent indeed some Officers, and a few Cloaths, and such-like matters, but seemed frugal in husbanding his Troops for a Shelter from a Storm he expected nearer home ; which did not a little discourage the *Irish*, and made them again to desert in numbers : and their falling-off had been greater, had not their Priests taken them to task, and insinuated how meritorious it was to fight with, and destroy Hereticks.

While these things passed, Captain *White* of the Lord *George Hamilton's* Regiment, detached a hundred Men under the Command of Captain *Johnston*, who marched to *Belmona* in King's County, and surprized by break of day, two Troops of Dragoons of Brigadier *Clifford's*, and Three Troops of Horse of the Lord *Merrion's* Regiment, killing Lieutenant *Archibald*, Quarter-Master *Barnwell*, and fifteen Dragoons, took two Ensigns, and Nine other Prisoners.

The

The Governour of *Cloppmel* marching from that place with a Detachment of Horse, and two Troops of the Militia Dragoons came by Night into the Enemies Quarters, towards *Michael's-Town*; but not finding them there, the Rapparees upon his Return fired out of the Wood, which he immediately causing to be surrounded, so ferreted them about, that thirty of them, together with *Casheen* their Ring-Leader or Captain, were killed. And Two hundred and fifty Foot, and Twenty Horse commanded by Lieutenant-Collonel *Hodson*, marching from *Mountmelick*, he posted them at *Kilkapog* by break of day, where the Foot entred the Woods and Bogs, and the Horse securing the skirts, they hunted out and killed about eighteen of the Enemy that lay lurking there to surprize such as passed that way; and indeed these sort of Enemies were more dangerous and cruel where they mastered, than the Regular Troops, but so cowardly withal, that they would not stand a Charge, if they perceived the Match was but any thing near equal; an Instance of which may be observed in this, *viz.*

A Party of Collonel *Brewer's* Men being upon their March towards *Kinnegad*, a great Body of Rapparees lay in Ambush, yet durst not come out, for fear of being worited, tho' our Men were much inferiour to them in number, but let them pass; when so it happened, though very unfortunately, that a Ser-jant and four Soldiers of this Party lagged be-

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hind a considerable way ; upon these the Rapparees seized, and though on their knees they begged for Quarter, yet they murdered them, and not satisfied with their Deaths, they bored out their Eyes, and mangled their dead Bodies ; but the next day three of the Murderers were taken and brought to *Mullingar*, where one of them accused the other two of the Fact ; they were upon such conviction immediately hanged up : and Captain *Poy'n's* soon after falling upon the whole Knot of them with a Party of 110 Men of the Garrison of *Mullingar*, put to the rout, and dispersed throughout the Country, killing between Forty and Fifty of them ; and now since we have had occasion to speak so much of these Rapparees in the Series of this History, some may be inquisitive to know, what manner of People they are, to which I answer :

They are a sort of Vagabonds and Thieves, not caring to work, or take any Employment upon them ; a mixture of *Irish* with other Nations, who herding together, take all opportunities, where they are strongest, to plunder, burn, and murder, their hands being against all, and the hands of all against them, to destroy as Beasts of Prey. They rejoyce at Wars and Troubles, because then they have liberty, they think, to do what they please. Their Dwellings for the most part are Cabins, or moveable Houses and their skulking Places Bogs, Woods, and Mountains. They are not held as Soldiers, nor included in the Articles
of

of War, but lie at the mercy of those that take them, without their being obliged to give them any Quarter, tho' they crave it. Their Apparel, unless they rigg themselves by Plunder, is so miserable, that they go in a manner naked.

Yet these hopeful Sticks, the Commanders of the *Irish* Army encourage, and put Weapons into many of their hands, to harass and destroy the Countries under Their Majesties Obedience.

Yet they have been so often met with upon their Incurfions, that about Four Thousand of them have come short home since this War begun.

And furthermore, to encourage the People to be vigilant, and to discourage such Rake-shames, the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ireland*, put forth a Proclamation, in these words, or to this effect :

That to prevent the Robberies, wilful
 Burnings of Buildings, Corn and Hay,
 Murthers and Insurrection, with which the
 parts of the Kingdom under Their Maje-
 sties Obedience was threatned by the Rebels
 and their Adherents, during the time Their
 Majesties Army should be upon their March
 to the Frontiers, or in the Quarters then
 possessed by the Rebels, they have thought
 it necessary, and do thereby publish and de-
 clare, That the Popish Irish Inhabitants of
 the respective Baronies under Their Maje-
 sties Obedience, where any Rebels common-
 ly called Rapparees, shall commit any such
 Robberies, Burnings, or Murthers; or
 where any such Insurrection shall happen, if
 they do not immediately give Notice of such
 Rapparees and Insurrections respectively to
 the Justice of Peace, or chief Officer of the
 Militia next to their Habitations, and as-
 sist him in the taking and destroying them,
 and in the suppression of Insurrections; that
 then they, where such Fact shall be com-
 mitted, neglecting their Duties, shall be
 deemed Confederates with the said Rebels
 and Enemies of Their Majesties Govern-
 ment: And by Order to be given by the
 Lords Justices, as occasion shall require,
 shall be proceeded against with the utmost
 severity

severity of Military Execution. And they do further Order, That no protected Irish Papist shall be abroad out of his or their Dwelling-place of Abode, after the hours of Nine at Night, or before the hours of Four in the Morning, under the Pain and Penalty of being put out of Their Majesties Protection: And if after the Thirtieth of May, 1691, any Arms or Ammunition shall be found upon the persons, or in the possession of any such Irish Papists, he or they shall be looked upon as Rebels, and punished accordingly, and as they intend severely to punish all such as shall offend in the particulars above-mentioned; so they do assure all those Irish Papists who live under Their Majesties Protection, that they behaving themselves as becomes good Subjects, shall have the benefit thereof.

These

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These Proceedings made many of the Papists stir to prevent the mischief, who before stood laughing in their sleeves at the Damages their Protestant Neighbours sustained, though to curry favour in a dissembling manner, they often shewed them a fair Countenance, and seemed to pity their Losses. And Major O'Neal, and some others came over from the Enemy, and took the advantage of Their Majesties Protection.

But whilst these things were transacting, one *Mark Bagget* apparelling himself in Womens Cloaths, made it his business to spy into our Quarters, and the manner of our Affairs; but his too much inquisitiveness discovering him, he was seized, and being sentenced by a Court Marshal, he was executed at *Dublin* on the 20th of *May*.

The Season thus far in a forwardness, gave a favourable Invitation to the Army, for their taking the Field, when a Party of the *Irish* Army consisting of One hundred and Fifty Men, thinking to be early at it, and do some notable Exploit to be talked on, came to *Castle-Lions*, and took thence a few of the poor Peoples Cows; but Collonel *Donep* with about twenty *Danes*, and a like number of the Militia Dragoons pursued, overtaking them at *Ballyderiawn*, where a Lieutenant with eight *Danes*, and six Dragoons, beat off sixty of them who had lined the Hedge, in which Action the Lieutenant was killed; but the Collonel coming up with his Party, and being

re-inforced with fifty fresh Men, he still pursued them, killing about fifty of them, of which two were Commission Officers, took forty Horses, and his Men got indifferent store of Plunder.

This was followed with other Successes of the like nature, nor could any great Actions be expected, by reason the Armies were not as yet in the Field, ours staying for the arrival of more Ships from *England*; and the *Irish* upon the like account from *France*.

And about the latter end of *May*, Eight Ships with 500 Carriage-Horses, and other Necessaries for the Army came to *Dublin*, and Lieutenant-General *Scravenmore*, Major-General *Mackay*, and Major-General *Ruvigny* came likewise on Shoar. And now the Train, of Artillery consisted of Thirty Nine Pieces of Cannon, Twelve Field-pieces, and Six Mortars.

And in the mean while the *French* General *St. Ruth* proceeded to model the *Irish* Army, and give Commissions in his Master's Name, ordering things with an Absolute Power, where their Troops drew together at *Loghera* in *Connaught*.

And in the beginning of *June* all things on our part was in a manner in a readiness, the Soldiers by this time being well recruited of the hardships, found many of them in their Winter Quarters; and being often out in Parties.

The

The Army indeed lay still longer than the *Irish* expected, which made them promise themselves more success than they were like to meet withal: for the General intending to make a vigorous War, and push on for speedy Victory, and the reducing all places that yet held out, and had refused to submit to Their Majesties Obedience, took care so effectually to provide for all things necessary for enterprizing so great an Undertaking, that nothing might be wanting to retard in the least the progress of Their Majesties Arms; and because the Stores laid up the Year before as to Forrage, and other things of that nature, whereby the Army might subsist in its March, it was prudently taken into Consideration, that Nature should have time to do her part, in furnishing the Earth with such a sufficiency as might supply what was wanting, if any delays by cross Accidents should happen, that so every thing that could be expected might contribute to the sudden and effectual reducing the Kingdom, and putting an end to so chargeable a War; whereby the Forces upon so happy a Conclusion, as must necessarily restore Peace in these parts, might be at leisure to oppose the grand Disturber of *Europe* in a more sensible manner; seeing it was concluded his main Policy in assisting the *Irish*, was only to divert those Troops he otherwise could not without reason expect, would make him an unwelcome Visit upon his own

Front

Frontiers, and joyntly labour to plant the Rightful Monarch in the Field of Golden Lillies.

These Considerations, I say, being of weight, presaged the unparalelled Success in a great measure, that attended and crowned them to our wishes.

The *Irish*, and the *French* in Confederacy with them, held several strong Towns; such as were not thought easily to be reduced; as *Ballymore*, the two Towns of *Athlone*, *Galloway*, and *Limerick*, besides a numerous Army that had already taken the Field; and promised to themselves great Matters from their Valour and Conduct, as now supposing themselves better disciplined than the Year before; for they had amongst them a great many *French* Officers, who laboured to exercise and train them up in the Arts and Methods used in the *French* Army. And indeed, had they had to do with any other Nation but the *English*, they might have come off better than they did in the oppositions they made; but the ancient *British* Valour revived in so short a War, took again its insuperable vigour, resolving to overcome all Difficulties, and stick at no Danger, but furiously press on where the least glimmering of Victory presented, and so like a rapid Torrent forcing the opposing Dams, carry all before it, and Crown their Monarchs with si routing Laurels and Triumphs.

But

But not longer to detain the Reader from matter of Fact, which is mainly the intended Scope of this History : The Supplies expected from *England* being seasonably arrived, and every thing that was thought necessary in a readiness, there wanted but Orders to march ; which were not delayed ; for now as is said, the Army being ready to take the Field, our Forces were commanded to decamp, and accordingly decamped from *Mullingar* ; and the same day the Army was joyned by Lieutenant-General *Douglas*, with the Northern Troops, and on the Seventh of *June* came before *Ballymore*, seizing upon all the Enemies Out-posts, which they quitted upon the approach of our Men ; but being taken, the Serjeant was hanged for firing after the Communication was then cut off between him and the Town.

In the Afternoon a Battery of Four Field-pieces was bent against the Fort, and Five Batteries were raised the Night following, from whence our Cannon rent the Walls and Curtains, and the General sent to the Governour to let him know, *That if he and the Garrison would surrender within Two Hours, he would save their Lives, and make them Prisoners of War ; if not, they must expect no Quarter.*

To which the Governour made no direct Answer ; but replied, *He hoped to get better Terms.*

Our Cannon having made two great Breaches, and four Boats brought from *Mullingar*, put into the Water , the fear of a present Storm made the Besieged hang out a White Flag, and Collonel *Bourk*, with several Officers, came and submitted to the General at discretion ; so that Collonel *Earl* with Four hundred Men marched in and took possession of the place ; in which there was a Garrison of Seven hundred and eighty Soldiers, besides Two hundred fifty nine Rapparees well armed, and about a thousand Women and Children.

In this Action we had Eight Men killed, and the Enemy about One hundred and Fifty.

This important place thus reduced, and the Prince of *Wirtemberg* having joyned the Army with about Twelve thousand Horse and Foot, the March was directed towards *Athlone*.

On the Nineteenth our Men came before the place, where they had put up the *French* Colours in four parts of the Town, to make us believe, there were a great many *French* in-

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ingarrisoned in it : but this hindred not ; for by Ten in the Morning, a Battery of Ten Eighteen Pounders was finished ; and playing upon the Great Bastion, in a short time the Face-flank, and Curtain were laid in Rubbish, and the General ordered the Assault to be made in this order :

First there advanced Three hundred detached Grenadiers.

Then Fifty Pioneers with more Faggots.

Then Two hundred Feufileers, supported by two Regiments of Foot.

After them Two hundred Pioneers, with more Faggots.

Then Twenty Men with Axes to cut the Barrocades, if any opposed.

So that about Six in the Evening, on the Twentieth of *June*, the Signal was given to fall on, which was the Discharge of all the Cannon in Battery.

At first the Enemy seemed resolved to defend the Breach ; but upon the first flight of the *English* Grenadoes, they scattered and fled in much confusion over the Bridge to the *Irish* Town, on *Connaught*-side, some leaping into the *Shannon* for hast, and there perished in the Waters.

Our Men immediately entred the *English* Town ; but lying somewhat open to the Enemies

mies shot on the other side the River, some few were killed, and others wounded ; but the Engineers soon raised Blinds to shelter them.

On our part of Note, Lieutenant-Collonel Goar, and Lieutenant-Collonel Kirk of *Villiers's* Regiment were killed, one entering the Breach, and the other surveying the Town from a Hill.

The Siege was carried on against the other Town with great resolution ; so that having battered it, till the Walls and Castle were partly beat down, and perceiving it faultable, order was then given for the storming of the place.

On the Twenty Eighth of *June*, about Seven in the Morning, much in the same order as the former Attack was made ; yet the Detachments were greater, as being a stronger place : but before our Men could be in a readiness, a small part of the Enemy came and set fire to a close Gallery laid over the Arch of a Stone Bridge, they had broken down, but were many of them killed in the Attempt ; yet it deferred the Attack till the Thirtieth.

However the Cannon and Bombs ceased not to play, and do terrible Execution, setting the Houses on fire, and beating down all before them.

About

About Six in the Afternoon, the Signal was given to fall on by ringing the Church-Bell; whereupon they entred the Ford below the Bridge, and pressed with such vigour upon the Enemy, that they forced them to quit the Trenches, and within the space of half an hour, made themselves Masters of all their Outworks, and the Ruins of the Castle where they had fortified themselves with Sconces; and Major-General *Maxwell* with Two hundred Soldiers, and divers Officers of Note were made Prisoners.

Yet in the Soldiers over-running the Town in the first fury, a great many were killed; insomuch, Two thousand are computed to be slain from the beginning of the Siege, till the *English* were entire Masters of the Town.

The place was taken in the fight of the *Irish* Army, who, when too late, were sending a Detachment to their Relief, there were found only Six Pieces of Brass Cannon, and Two Mortars, but little store of Provision and Ammunition.

The principal Officers kill'd of the *Irish*, were Brigadier *Mackellicuddy*.

The Collonels *Mac Mahan*, *O Neal*, *O Gard*, and *Grace*.

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The Lieutenant-Collonels, *Mac Genis*, and *Barnwell*, also Major *Murray*.

The Enemy had all the advantage imaginable to relieve this important place, as lying with their whole Army on the other side, but a little distance from it, where we had no Forces; or if any, none capable of opposing them at that time; yet so insatuated they were, that relying on its strength, they still had a confidence, that the Town beyond the River would baffle the *English* Courage, notwithstanding they saw the other Town was taken with a very little resistance.

Monfieur *St. Ruth*, and other of Their chief Commanders, were reported to be often in it, viewing its Works and Fortifications, and assured themselves it would at least be a great part of the Summers Work to reduce it, if they were not in the end obliged to draw off from before it; and the rather, because some part of our Army had been before it, and gone off without any considerable success, or doing any great matters against the place.

But their Imaginations answered not, as it has appeared; their Expectations, and those Supplies, as is said, that they sent, came so unreasonably late, that all the advantage they had, was to put a stop to our Mens pursuing too far, such as got out of the Town, and fled
for

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for shelter towards their Army. This sensible Blow greatly damped the Courage and Resolution of the Enemy, who before had promised to do great things, and made them bethink themselves of taking new measures; in-somuch, that some took the opportunity as they found occasion to desert.

The *French* seemed discontented with the weak Resistance of the *Irish*; and every thing appeared more and more dreadful to this numerous Army.

When several Consultations were held what was best to be done, whether to remove or expect the *English* in that Camp; for they could not propose any thing less to themselves, than that after this Success our Forces would give them a nearer Visit, and attempt the dislodging them from a place so near a Town newly taken, and now very weak in itself by Battery. And though they talked high, yet in all their Debates, it did not, it seems, appear they had any great mind to come to a Fight; but rather to delay our Army, till the Season should advance to put a stop to any considerable opportunity, or till they might find some great advantage to further their purpose.

Whilst the Enemies Considerations run to this purpose, our Men were gathering the Plunder of the Place; which was not so considerable

siderable, as in so strong a Town might have been expected ; for besides what had been burnt in the Fires that had happened, by throwing in of Bombs, and destroyed in the beating down of Houses, some of the chief Inhabitants early apprehending this Siege, had removed what was valuable, together with themselves, to distant places, where they thought them more secure, though by the way part fell into the hands of the Rapparees, who distinguished not between Friend or Foes, where they found opportunity to get Booty. But to come nearer.

The Enemy after several Debates, perceiving our Men were absolute Masters of the place, which was in a manner laid in Rubbish, by the throwing in Six hundred Bombs, and the force of Twelve hundred great Shot, they came to a Result ; and it was concluded immediately to raise their Camp, and march some Miles further ; which they did : and to increase their Number, drew the Garrisons of *Sligo*, *Tames-Town*, and *Lanesborough*, quitting them to those that would come and take possession.

As soon as the Walls of *Athlone* were a little repaired, the General left a Garrison there, under the Command of Collonel *Loyd*, and drew out to observe the Enemies motion.

The Enemy, to amuze us, gave out, they were resolved to come to a Battle ; when for the supply of our Army, divers Vessels with Ammunition, and other Stores, arrived from *England*, bringing over likewise the Earl of *Portland's* Regiment of Horse, who soon joyned the Army.

It was now resolved to dislodge the Enemy, or oblige them to fight.

Their Majesties Forces on the Tenth of *July*, passed the River, the Foot over a Bridge of Boats below the Town ; and the Horse over a Stone Bridge that had been repaired for their more advantagious passage, and marched to *Ballinsloe*, a place on the River *Sac*.

The Enemy lying three Miles distant, very advantagiously encamped at a place called *Agbrim*, a small Town, stretching their Left towards *Kilconnel-Abbey*, and their Right upon the Hills of *Kilcomodon*, having two very difficult Bogs before them, through which the Roads go to *Galloway* : and on the Left was the Ruines of an old Castle, where an Intrenchment was made and lined with Musquetiers ; and on the Right likewise were several Retrenchments for the Security of their Camp.

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The *English* Army passed the River *Suc*, the Foot and Artillery over a Stone Bridge, and the Horse by two Fords, forcing the Out-Guards to retreat, whilst our Left Wing of Horse advanced beyond the Bog that covered the Enemies Right, and made way for the Foot to come in, between them and that.

Our Cannon fired upon the Enemies Guards, at the end of the Defile, or dirty Lane that leads to *Agbrim*, dislodged them that defended it, whilst our Horse and Foot took their Posts, pouring in their Shot.

The Enemy drew down a great Body of Horse towards our Left, and were so strongly possessed behind the high Banks of the Ditches, that they held our Foot in dispute for two hours, before they could gain any thing considerable upon them ; but at last we prevailed, and forced them to give way, notwithstanding fresh Recruits of Horse and Foot were sent to sustain them, as they were pushed back ; and although three Battalions of Foot advanced on the Right, over the Skirts of the Bog, and a small Rivulet that discharged itself into the *Suc*, where in a Corn Field others of the Enemies Battalions and Squadrons stood firm to the Charge ; yet they notwithstanding maintained their Ground, till more of our Regiments and Squadrons ad-
H vanced

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vanced to support them ; and then charging up the Hills where the Enemies Squadrons were posted , gave them a warm Entertainment.

In the mean time our Left had opportunity to beat the *Irish* from their Ground ; and at the same time the Right pressing upon them, disordered them to that degree, that a general Rout of their Horse ensued ; and their Foot thereupon being hotly charged, fell into disorder ; and though they had made a resolute Resistance, they were obliged to quit the Field, and were pursued by our Army four Miles ; but then Night coming on, and the difficulty of the ways hindred the further pursuit, it being Six in the Evening when the Armies engaged, and near Nine before they broke and fled.

The Enemies Army was superiour to ours, consisting of Twenty thousand Foot, and Eight Thousand Horse, and had by their Encampment all the advantage ; yet our Men gained an entire Victory, Seven thousand of the Enemy being killed upon the place.

Among the slain of Note were the Lord *Galloway*, Collonel *Moor*, Collonel *Barker*, Collonel *Goudron* ; a great many Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Cornets, &c. and more particularly Monsieur *St. Ruth*, the *French* General, who received here his Reward for the many

many Cruelties he used towards the Protestants in *France*.

Many of Note were wounded, of which many mortally, and soon after died of their Wounds.

About a hundred Officers, and Five hundred Soldiers were made Prisoners; and all the Enemies Provision, Tents, Baggage and Cannon fell into the hand of our Men, with a great many Colours and Standards, and most of the Arms of the Foot, which to help their speed in flight, they threw away.

This great and entire Victory was obtained with the loss of Six hundred Men on our side; and of Note, Major-General *Holstable*, Colonel *Mongats*, Collonel *Charles Herbert*, Major-General *Petit*, Major *Davenish*, Major *Colt*, Major *Cornwal*, Major *Fox*, with divers Subalternate Officers.

The wounded of Note, were the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt*, the Lord *Cutts*, the Lord *George Hamilton*, Collonel *Earl*, Lieutenant-Collonel *Burdwell*, with several Subalternates.

The Enemy in this Flight, and Total Rout, scattered their Arms and Baggage all the way they fled, thinking as it may be by that means to stay the pursuit: but it availed them little;

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for such Trifles were not regarded, in comparison of the Great Work that was in hand, to subdue and bring the Kingdom under Their Majesties Obedience, by an entire Conquest: insomuch, that urged by the Sword behind, and not finding way to escape through the press and throng that was before them, a great many cast themselves into the Bogs, and Water plashes; and of these not very many escaped.

Others that were more nimble of Foot, and had got the start of the press, scampered by known ways, and never left running when the pursuit was given over, till they got to the Woods or Mountains, or into such Bogs where they thought it was impossible to follow them.

The *French* who were not so nimble as the *Irish*; or if they had, yet but very little acquainted with the Country, came mostly by the worst on it, where they were broken and scattered, throwing away their Arms, and crying for Quarter, which in the heat of the Soldiers fury could not be always obtained.

Some of the Enemies Horse, indeed, retreated pretty indifferently, keeping together as well as the Confusion would permit; but thought it not safe to stay in the Countries thereabout, for fear of being attacked by some
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of our Detachments the next day ; but being got at a great distance, and those that were scattered coming to their Rendezvous, they made a small Body under the Command of Collonel *Sheldon*, and some other Officers ; but the Foot was so entirely dispersed, that we heard little of them afterward, unless such as got into the places that yet held out, and even there many of the Fugitives were refused, the Garrisons being already filled up and straitned for Provision, so that for a time lying under the Walls, and hankering about without any thing wherewith materially to subsist, many disbanded of themselves, and others by the leave of their Officers, as finding this great Blow had broken their Hopes and Interests in the Kingdom so far, that they even despaired of piecing it together again by force ; and withal knowing no doubt, that this would be such unwelcome News to *France*, that although the late King resided in that Court to sollicite on their behalfs, they could expect but little Succours, seeing all that had been already sent, had turned to so little account ; and that the *English* heightened by this Success, knew well enough how to take the advantage, and push on to the Walls of *Limerick* ; wherein, as their last Refuge, they had placed some hopes.

Whilst these things were employing the Enemies serious Consideration, care was taken of our wounded Men : and such Prisoners as

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had been secured, who received very good Usage, and what else was requisite, till they should be disposed of as Prisoners of War.

The Victory thus entirely gained, the Army encamped beyond the place of Battle, and Brigadier *Eppinger* going out with a strong Party, possessed himself of *Portumney*, whereupon the Fort and Castle of *Bavaber* surrendered, and many of the scattered Forces fled to *Galloway* and *Limerick*.

As for the greatest part of the Standards and Colours taken in this Battle, they were sent to *England*, and there exposed to the publick view of the People, as eminent Trophies of so signal a Victory.

The *English* Army upon the former Successes, resolute to push on for the entire reducing the Kingdom to Their Majesties Obedience, after some Refreshment, marched towards *Galloway*.

Being before the place, the General sent a Trumpet to the Lord *Dillon*, Governour of the Town, to offer him advantagious Terms, in case he surrendered before the Cannon were planted against the Walls.

But he returned for Answer, That Monsieur *Ussone* the *French* Lieutenant General who commanded, was of the same Opinion with him-

himself, and the rest of the Officers; and that they were resolved to defend the place to the last.

Upon which the Approaches were made, and on the Twentieth of *July* by break of day, a Fort or Ravelin on the Hill was attacked, and our Grenadiers that were ordered for that purpose, marched with great silence; insomuch, that they were not discovered, till they were at the foot of the Glacis, where they delivered their Grenado's, and went on to the Pallisado's, entring the Fort.

The Enemy perceiving all was lost, cried for Quarter, leaving our Men Masters of it; so that they strongly retrenched themselves: but hearing that *Baldorick O Donnel* was on his March to throw himself into *Galloway*, the Water was bridged over with the Tin Boats, over which passed Six Regiments of our Foot, and four Squadrons of Horse to oppose his Attempt: so that finding he could not effect his Design, he retreated into the County of *Mayo*, burning and plundering in his way.

The taking this Fort so alarmed the Town, that the Governour desired a Parley, and leave to send some Persons to the General to treat about Articles of Surrender; so that three of their Lieutenant-Collonels came out, and as many of ours entred the Town, by way of Hostage; and after some debate it was agreed,

That the Town should be delivered to such Officers as the General should appoint ; and in the mean time, Five Hostages should be sent for the due performance of the Agreement on the Articles ; and all the Outworks of the Town put into the General's hands, the Enemy forbearing to fortifie any thing in the mean time ; and to withdraw all their Cannon from the Walls ; but that our Men might be permitted to work and post themselves as they saw convenient, provided they came not within Three Yards of the Wall, or placed any Cannon on the Batteries that should be made : And that the Garrison and Townsmen should have the benefit of the Lords Justices Proclamation of Indemnity, which gives them their Estates and Liberties. And further, that those who were desirous to depart, might be conducted to Limerick, with their Arms, Drums beating, &c. and Six Pieces of Cannon ; and have liberty to send to Tyrconnel, and acquaint him with what they had done, and invite him to do the same at Limerick.

And

And pursuant thereto, they sent the Lord *Clanrickard*, with Four Officers of Note as Hostages, and allowed two Persons sent from the General to enter the Town, and take an Account of the Stores, &c.

The Treaty upon these Considerations coming to a final Conclusion, the Garrison marched out on the 26th of *July*, *D'Ussone* the French Lieutenant-General having leave to be on his way to *Limerick*, three hours before the rest marched out.

On the 28th of *July*, Matters being settled, and the place Garrisoned, the Army marched away towards *Limerick*, the only strong place the *Irish* held in the Kingdom.

Whilst these things passed, Sir *Teague O'Regan* delivered up *Slego* to Colonel *Micleburn*, and divers other places of no considerable defence were surrendered by others.

Baidarick O'Donnel, whose Success an old Prophecy had foretold, fearing by the ill luck he all along had had, it was but a Fable, willing to submit with the Men under his Command, sent to desire a Cessation on this particular, and that some place might be assigned him and his Followers, till His Majesty was acquainted with his Proposals for coming over; which was in part allowed him, and he after-

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ward was received into Their Majesties Protection.

Now our Parties being abroad, entred those Counties that held out, and brought away great Booties of Cattle, defeating divers of the Enemies Detachments that were abroad plundering the Country.

Upon the approach of the *English* Army towards *Limerick*, the Enemy, who were encamped near it, no sooner perceived the advanced Parties, but their Foot entred the Town, and their Horse drew off further into the Country.

And now *Tyrconnel* finding the Thread he had spun grown too fine, and ready to break in sunder, vexing at the crofness of Affairs, fell sick and died, as 'tis reported, of Grief, being buried in *Limerick*, the place where he died.

On the 14th of *August* our Army marched from *Nenagh* to *Shalkey*, about two Miles from the Silver Mines.

The next day to *Tusla*, where to refresh them they remained one day.

But the next day the General being resolved to push on, and prosecute the Success, they had Orders to march to *Carrick-en-Lysb*, about four Miles from *Limerick*, the only place wherein the Enemy reposed their last hopes.

hopes, as having yet some small glimmering of hope, which they reposed in a continual expectation of some fresh Succours from France.

From Carrick, the next day, the General went with Fifteen hundred Horse and Dragoons within sight of *Limerick*, beating in their Out-Guards, and taking a view of their Outworks from a Hill that overlooked the City where our Artillery encamped the last Year; and upon his being there, several Deserters came over, and confirmed an Account before received, that the Horse were retired to the other side of the *Shannon*, and their Foot drawn within the Retrenchments.

Further informing, That upon *Tyrconnel's* Death, a Commission was produced under the late King's hand, which Mr *Plowden* (formerly one of the Commissioners of the Revenue) had brought lately from France, empowering Sir *Alexander Fitton*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, and the said *Plowden*, Justices of Ireland.

And a further Account was given, that divers Persons were seized and made Prisoners in *Limerick*, by the order of the French General *Ussone*, for having made some Proposals in order to a timely surrender, Upon which the General sent them word by a Trumpet, That if they put any Man to death, for having a mind to come over to him, he would retaliate

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it on the Irish Prisoner that had been lately taken, and were now in his power. Of which indeed there were a great many, and some of no mean Quality in Titles, besides Officers of considerable Note, upon the account of their late Commands in the Irish Garrisons or Army.

On the 16th, Sir John Hanmore joyned the General with Five Regiments of Foot from Cork, and the neighbouring Garrisons; as also some other Re-inforcements from divers adjacent places, as well Horse as Foot.

The same day Major-General La-Forest was sent out with a strong Detachment to meet the Cannon, that with some impatience had been expected from *Athlone*, under the Convoy of Colonel Loyd's Regiment; and though in the mean time a great deal of Rain fell, yet it nothing abated the Courage of the Officers and Soldiers, to go on in prosecuting the intended Siege of *Limerick*.

To further whose purpose, a Squadron of *English* Ships were in the *Shannon*, who made themselves Masters of a *French* Ship of considerable Burthen, which had taken in *St. Ruth's* Horse and Equipage, in order to carry it for *France*; after which, they braved the City of *Limerick*, by coming almost within Cannon-shot of it.

Whilst these things were doing, and the Lord Justice Coningsby, who had been to concert Matters in the Army, was returning from *Dublin*, the Militia were in a readiness to keep those parts in quiet, consisting of a Thousand Foot, and Five hundred Horse and Dragoons, having with them Three Field-pieces; whilst others of the Militia of the Neighbouring Counties were advancing to augment their Number, and make them up Three thousand effectual Men, under the Command of the Earl of *Granard*, their business being likewise to secure such places as might fall into their hands by force, or being abandoned by the Enemy.

The *English* Army having been sometime retarded at *Carrick-en-Lesh*, in expectation of the heavy Cannon, upon its arrival in the Camp, marched on the 25th of *August* nearer to *Limerick*, and took in divers places by the way, and especially those near *Limerick*.

In one Fort new built, and Garrisoned with 600 Men, made great shew of resistance, yet upon an Attack made by eight of our Grenadiers, after they had fired upon them, killing one of our Men, they made a running retreat, and by a covert way got within their Flank Lines drawn about the Town.

Whilst

Whilst the Army was preparing for a formal Siege, a considerable Detachment of Foot and Horse, with some Cannon, was sent under the Command of the Prince *Hesse Darmstadt*, to take in *Castle Conel*, where the Enemy had a Garrison.

Another Party was sent to take in three other Castles which the Enemy had Garrisoned on the River below the Town, and enterprized them with good success; yet at the first coming on of our Army before *Limerick*, several Field-pieces and Cannon were planted so advantageous to the Enemy, that playing upon a Regiment of Dragoons, and another of Horse, they obliged them to draw off to a further distance; yet our Men advanced to *Cromwel's Fort*, which was quitted, as also was the Line of Communication they had made to the Church, retiring within the Retrenchments that were better secured by the Cannon of the Town. However, to come into Action, a Detachment of eighty Grenadiers were commanded to attack one of their Outworks, which was a new Fort guarded by Six hundred Men, notwithstanding upon the approach of our Grenadiers, having discharged their Pieces, they fled by a covered way into the Town; and left us Masters of the Fort, yet our Men pushing on, pursued the Flyers, killing some, and taking about twenty Prisoners, losing but one Man in the Action; and

the same Night Collonel *Donep*, a Commander of the *Danish* Horſe, was killed by a random ſhot.

On the 26th of *Auguſt*, the heavy Cannon and Mortars came up, and our Men began to work on the Lines of Communication, and the next day the Batteries were raiſed againſt *Thomond-Bridge*, whiſt the Prince *Heſſe Darmſtadt* marched with a Detachment of Horſe, Foot, and Dragoons, and Three Pieces of Cannon to attack *Caſtle Connel*; and Lieutenant-General *Scravenmore*, with another detached Party, marched to *Carrick Gunnel*, which ſurrendred upon the Firſt Summons, the Garrifon conſiſting of 250 Men, being made Priſoners of War. And our light Frigats with Ammunition and Proviſion came to an Anchor within ſight of *Limerick*; which the Beſieged taking for Succours from *France*, were mainly heightned with Joy; but upon being undeceived, were as much dejected.

Caſtle Connel, a very ſtrong Fortreſs, was ſurrendred to the Prince; and ſeveral other ſmall Caſtles at divers times; in all which were taken about 900 Priſoners.

The Siege began by this time very much to ſtreighten *Limerick*; inſomuch, that the Beſieged could not without great difficulty have any conſiderable communication with their Parties abroad; for their Horſe had been removed

moved by our shot from their Camp that was under the Cannon of the Town, and obliged to march a great way further; yet they appeared very vigilant in guarding the Passes of the *Shannon*, posting their Troops upon many of the Fords, and frequently sent their Scouts along the further Bank, to observe the motion of our Men, and to give Notice to their Main Guards, if they perceived them about to make an Attempt for passing it. However, that little availed, as will by and by appear.

The reducing of *Limerick* being firmly resolved, our Men went on vigorously with the Works, making a Line of Contravallation with four Forts, for the better defending it from any Attack the Enemy might make upon it in their Sallies, and raised new Batteries on the Right, almost in the same place where the Attack was made upon the place the last Year, the largest of them being within Carbine-shot of the Wall, in a place where it was held not to be extraordinary strong; and indeed the Cannon being mounted, and playing furiously against it, made the Stones shiver, and with a few Balls rent it in several places, that the Breaches began to appear at a great distance, whilst the Bombs thrown into the Town made great havock, so that the Flames of the fired Houses frequently ascended very dreadful, especially when it happened in the Night time, so that it might be discerned for many Miles round

round the Country, and divers were killed by the breaking of the Shell. blowing up and bearing down of Houses, and amongst those that had their lot to fall this way, was the *Lady Dillon*, and a great many were wounded and disabled from the Service; so that according to the report of some Deserters, they began greatly to murmur, especially the *Militia*, who had been forced thither after the Battle of *Aghrim*, complaining, that their Wives and Children in their absence, were many of them in very great distress; and unless they might have liberty speedily to go and take care of them, they must perish for want: some of them urged the danger the place was in, and not likely to make a long resistance against so powerful an Army, that had all manner of Recruits and Supplies at hand, as occasion should require it; when on the contrary, they were shut up within Stone Walls, and could reasonably expect none.

However, to dissipate these Discontents, it was caused to be remoured abroad amongst the Citizens and Soldiers, that the *French* were speedily expected with large Succours; but when it appeared very difficult to gain Credit, that they could be that way effectually relieved, by reason we had several Frigats carrying a considerable strength of Guns, and Men upon the River to hinder their coming up that way; likewise a Prevailing and Victorious Army in the Field, to obstruct their
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putting in Succours by Land ; it was then to quiet the Clamour, promised by Monsieur *D'Usson*, the *French* Governour, That the Militia should be dismissed if Succours did not come from *France* within twelve days.

But he failed them : or had he intended to have sent them home, the difficulty of getting away would have been very great, if not impossible, had they not first had leave from the General ; for it was apprehended they would have thrust out a great many useles People to save their Provision, which occasioned a watchful eye upon the Passes, that few could get away without permission ; yet some they thrust into an Island in the River, being mostly Protestants, where they must have starved, had not our Men in compassion fetched them off.

During this care, and the vigorous carrying on of the Siege, further care was likewise taken for the suppressing the Parties abroad ; whereupon 300 Horse and Dragoons were sent to re-inforce those that were abroad, and bring into subjection the small Garrisons the Enemy yet held out against Their Majesties in *Kerry*, and the neighbouring parts ; and six Pieces of Cannon were likewise ordered for that Service ; so that upon the approach of our Forces, most of them surrendered without opposition, and all the Country round about became free and open, so that the Country

try People brought in their Provisions, and other Necessaries, to the great refreshment of our Army ; and measures were taken for settling those parts in their Obedience, the People appearing every-where to be highly pleased, as now being under a better assurance of safety from plunder, and the future Inconveniencies of a War, that had wasted almost all they had ; so that contrary to the usual manner in this case frequently used, they were so far from flying, for the most part, with the little substance they had left, that the Villagers, and others that had taken Refuge there, met their Conquerours with Tears of Joy, and welcomed them as their Deliverers ; Peace and Rest being ever most sweet and pleasant to those, who precipitating themselves unadvisedly into Misfortunes, have had leisure to consider their Error ; and by the sharp convincing Arguments of Suffering, have known what it is to be rash, in undertaking what they could not reasonably expect to go thorough with, against the prevailing Arms of a powerful Nation, contending with which *Ireland* has always been successless.

Things being thus ordered, the Out-Parties, unless so many as could keep the places taken in Obedience, returned to the Camp, carrying thither some Prisoners of Note ; and amongst others, the Lord *Castle Connell* was brought thither ; where notwithstanding the advancing of the Season, the Soldiers shewed
much

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much resolution and cheerfulness in their Undertaking, to carry on their Works, and manage all other Matters for the accomplishment of the main End of so brave an Undertaking; and though the Enemies great Guns from the Walls, Castles, and Towers of the Town, kept a continual thundering; yet the great shot did not obstruct the progress they made in their advances.

On the 30th of *August* Nine Mortars played against *Limerick*, whose Bombs set fire to several Houses; but the flame was soon extinguished.

The next day Nine Pieces of Cannon were bent upon the Bridge to ruine it, and hinder thereby the Enemies Communication with their Camp: And that Night two Mortars more of eighteen Inches Diameter, were placed in Battery; and two Batteries, one of Fourteen, and the other of Ten Pieces, all Twenty four Pounders were finished, and some Deserters came over, who gave but a melancholly Account of the posture of Affairs in the Town, as to their being badly armed, and worse provisioned.

Now whilst the Siege went successfully on, upon Advice that a great Party of Rapparees were drawn together in the County of *Kerry*, mixed with some of the Enemies Horse, the General ordered Brigadier *Levison*, with

1500 Horse and Dragoons to march against them, of which they had no sooner Notice, but they divided into two Parties for their better Retreat; and the Brigadier did the like, and with part of his Detachment pursued one of the Parties, whilst Colonel *Niwenhuys* did the like by the other; the Brigadier soon overtook his Party, which consisted of two Regiments of Horse, and a great number of Rapparees, which our Men charged so desperately, they making no considerable resistance, that they were soon broken and in rout, most of them being killed or taken Prisoners, and a great Booty recovered which they had got in ravaging the Country. The Colonel did the like by the Party he pursued; which gave the Villagers rest from their fears of burning and plundering, &c.

Our Cannon and Bombs continuing to play against *Limerick*, the former beat down thirty Yards of the Wall of the *English* Town on the *North-East*-side, dismounting the Enemies Cannon, and laying them in Rubbish, whilst the latter set fire to three of their Magazines, one of Brandy, and two of Biskets; the Fire lasting till Morning, and doing great damage, so that to save their other Provisions, they hastily removed them to more distant places; and their Horse that encamped along the River, being removed by the Guns of our Frigats, encamped between the Town and *Killaloo*, that they might be at hand to defend the Passages

Passages of the *Shannon*. And now the General resolving the Army should pass the *Shannon*, in order to attack the *Irish* Horse in the County of *Clare*, and to streighten the Town on that side the better to conceal the Design, a shew was made, as if he intended to ship away the heavy Cannon, and quit the small Castles and outward Fortifications ; which the Enemy taking for his being about to raise the Siege, gave a great Shout for Joy. But that Night our Men laid the Pontons over the River, about a Mile above the Town, and early the next Morning the Royal Regiment of Dragoons, with a Detachment of Horse and Foot, had passed over undiscovered by the Enemy : but as soon as Brigadier *Clifford*, who lay with four Regiments of Dragoons to guard the passage, perceived our Troops had gained the Banks, he brought down his Men on Foot, their Horses being at Grass ; but at the first charge they fell into disorder, and from that to open flight.

Being pursued by our Men, a great many of them were killed, some taken Prisoners in the flight, most of them flung away their Arms, and left their Tents, Baggage, Saddles, Bridles, and other Accoutrements to be divided amongst our Men, with two pieces of Cannon, and the Standard of *Maxwel*.

The Enemies Horse that encamped higher near *Killaloo* taking the Alarm, drew out; but it was only to get time to take down their Tents, and cover their Baggage; for as soon as our Troops advanced towards them, and had passed the first Defile, they hastily marched away in some disorder towards the Mountains.

On the 15th of *September*, the Lord *Cliburn* as he was quitting the Trenches, was killed with a Cannon Bullet; and the next day Capt. *Taaf* came over from the Enemy, giving an Account, That the Town was almost ruined with our Bombs and great Guns; and that they had not above ten days Bread for Subsistence, the Garrison not consisting of above 600 able Men.

Whilst these things were doing, Col. *Michellburn* marched with a Detachment of his Regiment, 500 of the Militia, 2 Troops of Dragoons, and 6 Field-pieces, encamping at *Drumcheifle*, and then advancing towards *Slego*, which again was in the Enemies hands, beat in their Out-Guards, and being joyned by the Lord *Granard*, who a little before had reduced the Castle of *Balymont*, that Garrison apprehensive of the danger they were in, capitulated almost upon the same Articles that were allowed to *Galloway*, including in the Capitulation the Castles of *Ballaby*, *New-Town*, and
Castle.

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Castle-Bourk, which were to be taken care of, provided they surrendred within four hours after Summons ; and hereupon the Fort on the 13th of *September* was delivered up, and 600 Men marched out under the Command of *Sir Teague O Regan*, and left in the place sixteen pieces of Cannon, and *Coll. Michelburn* was constituted Governour : And now to return again to *Limerick*.

Whilst the Siege was yet carried vigorously on, the General with Lieutenant General *Scratchmore*, being on the other side of the *Shannon* with 5000 Horse and Dragoons, and a proportionable Detachment of Foot marched into the County of *Clare* with 12 Field-pieces, and seven or eight days Provision, to oblige the Enemies Horse to fight, or drive them further from *Limerick* ; whereupon they not only avoided coming to Action, but many of them dispersed and disbanded, so that their number daily lessened.

Brigadier *Levison* with 250 Horse and Dragoons, had fallen upon the Enemy in *Kerry*, where they were about 3000 strong, and routed them, killing a great many, and taking divers Officers Prisoners ; by which means Their Majesties Forces were entire Masters of the County : So that the General being now on *Clare* side of *Limerick* with a strong Body of Horse, 10 Regiments of Foot, and 14 Pieces of Cannon ; the rest of the
Army

Army remaining under the Duke of *Wirtemberg* for the Security of the Works on the other side, on the 22d of *September* about Noon, our Troops drew up before the *English* Town, though the Enemies Cannon played upon them all the while from the Castle and several Towers, as also the small shot from the Flankers and Outworks.

About Four in the Afternoon, the General ordered a Detachment to attack the Fortt near *Thomond-Bridge*. Whereupon the Enemy sent two great Detachments out of the Town, to support and defend those that were in the Fort : but our Men marched on with such Courage and Bravery, that notwithstanding this Re-inforcement, they bore down all before them, pursuing with hot execution the flying Enemy over the Bridge, and brought such a Terrour upon the City, that Monsieur *D'Usson*, the *French* Governour of *Limerick*; durst not lower the Draw-Bridge to let in his own Men, dreading least ours should enter with them ; so that crouding on the Bridge in great numbers, our Men by perpetually pouring their Vollies of Shot amongst them, made a miserable slaughter ; insomuch, that from the foot of the Bridge to the Draw-bridge, nothing was to be seen but heaps of dead Bodies discolouring the River with Blood, and Six hundred were computed to be killed in this Action, and about One hundred and thirty taken Prisoners ; amongst

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whom

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whom was *Coll. Skelton*, who being very much hurt, died soon after of his Wounds; and our Men during this hot dispute, being very much exposed to the fire of the Town, were about Three hundred of them killed and wounded, but none of Note.

This resolute Enterprize of our Men brought such a Terrour upon the Garrison, that in the Afternoon a Parley was beaten round the Town, and Notice was given, that the People were very much enraged against the *French* Governour for suffering so many Men to be cut off, by keeping them out of the City; that they had insulted, and could hardly be kept from using Violence.

The beating this Parley, was to desire a Cessation of Firing and casting in Bombs; which was allowed till Nine the next Morning, when the *Collonels Sarsfield* and *Wahop* came out, and desired the Truce might continue a day longer, and that they might send to the 1500 Horse commanded by *Sheldon* in the County of *Clare*, to know, whether they would be included in the Capitulation, which was allowed, and on the 25th of September *Coll. Sheldon*, and some of his Officers came to our Camp, and had leave given him to go into *Limerick*, and consult with the Officers in Garrison; and the next day *Sarsfield* and *Wahop* came out again, and dined with the General, and Hostages were proposed to be

be exchanged, which being concluded on, the Lord *Cutts*, Sir *David Collier*, Collonel *Piper*, and Collonel *Tiffany* were sent by the General ; and the Town sent out the Lords *Westmeath*, *Trimelstown*, *Lowth*, and *Evagh* ; so that the Cessation was continued, and the Garrison sent out their Proposals ; but they were such as the General could not approve of ; and therefore instead of answering them, he sent in twelve Articles which he would allow ; and not to be unready to speak his mind in another Language, in case the Truce should be broken by their refusal, he ordered the Cannon and Mortars to remain charged on their Batteries, ready to fire upon the first Command ; which made the Besieged more reasonable in their Demands : so that the Commissioners for the Treaty coming forth again the same day, had a long Conference with those appointed to treat with them by the General, and became more moderate.

A very good prospect of Accommodation presented at this time ; for we had of their Prisoners taken in the last Action, 2 Lieutenant-Collonels, 2 Majors, 9 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, and 6 Ensigns. And this being likely to be a General Treaty for the Settlement of the Kingdom, the Lords Justices set forward from *Dublin* to be assisting at it, and arrived in the Camp the first of *October*, and after some Conferences with the Commissioners on the part of the Garrison, and their Troops in

the County of *Clare*, the Articles of Surrender of the City of *Limerick*, and the Castles of *Clare* and *Ross*, with all other Places and Castles that were at that time in the hands of the *Irish*, were on the Third of *October* Concluded and Agreed on, and Signed by the General and Lords Justices on the one side, and by the *French* Governour, and the Persons deputed by the Garrison on the other; and thereupon a Stone Fort, and one of the Gates was put into the General's hands the same Evening; and the next day five of our Regiments marched into the *Irish* Town, it being among other things agreed, That the *French*, and such as are willing to go beyond the Seas, may continue in the *English* Town and the Island, till they can be transported, and Shipping are to be got ready for that purpose.

About the time of this Agreement, News came, That divers *French* Men of War, with Transport-Ships, were on the Coast, and endeavoured to put into some places, though very distant from *Limerick*; but either not well knowing the Harbours, or being fearful, as having no certainty of what had happened, they continued cruizing, being seen sometimes off one place, and at other times off another, as being doubtful and uncertain of their enterprizing any thing to the end for which they came; as perhaps, having intelligence, that a Squadron of our Men of War, under the Command of Sir *Ralph Delaval*, was making

towards *Ireland*, to prevent any evil design they might have, notwithstanding the Capitulation, considering on our part, that the *French* Maxim is much the same with that of the *Ottomon Port*, viz. To consider nothing against their Interest ; but in the firmest Peace to take all the advantages of open Hostility, where any thing offers that may render their Attempts successful. But whether they sooner or later had an account of what had happened at *Limerick*, and that with the rendering up that important place, all their Measures had been broken, considering in those Articles, the few places of no considerable strength were included, we determine not ; but certainly so it happened, they attempted nothing worthy of note on the Coast of that Kingdom, but kept out at Sea as well as they could.

During the cruizing of the *French*, we had at length certain knowledge, that they had Notice of what had happened, viz. that *Limerick* had submitted, and with it all those Places that yet held out, if in the time limited, they, by surrendering, took the benefit of the Articles agreed on, which occasioned a greater security in them, as to the fear of being attacked by our Men of War ; because in one of the Articles it was agreed, that such of the *Irish* and *French* as had a mind to leave the Kingdom, and go for *France*, might stay to expect a free passage thither, without interruption, and then they more boldly appeared

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upon the Coast of *Kerry*, being discerned from the Hills and Cliffs, to be about 25 Sail of Men of War, with some Fire-ships, and 25 Transport-ships, and that it might be taken, that their Design in coming at first, was no other than to carry off the *French* and *Irish* that were unwilling to stay, Monsieur D'Usson, the late *French* Governour, took his first opportunity, to give Notice of their being there to Major-General *Talmash*, who had been appointed by the General to Command at *Limerick*; and upon mature deliberation, it being thought more convenient to suffer such as would transport themselves in *French* Ships, than truit any of ours in the Enemies Port on that Account, at last it was agreed, that the Transport-ships might come into the River *Shannon*; but the Men of War and Fire-ships to keep out at Sea; and that those Transport-ships should have liberty to take on Board such as would freely imbark.

In the mean while, divers *Irish* Gentlemen, and Persons of Quality, who it was by some supposed, would have embraced this voluntary Exile; considering, perhaps, how the *French* had insulted them in their own Country, and expecting worse Treatment when they should be more absolutely under their Jurisdiction, resolved not to trust their kindness by leaving their Native Country, but rather chose to rely upon the kindness of a Generous Prince, whose Word in all things

is inviolate, and thereupon spontaneously came in, and took the Oath of Fidelity to Their Majesties, nor were the Rapparees, who are accounted the most obstinate of the *Irish* behind hand in this ; for divers of their Chiefs considering their Safety depended upon a speedy Submission, thought it their best way to lay hold of the Grace offered, least such a favourable opportunity might for ever be out of their power ; and thereupon resolving to lay hold on it, laid down their Arms, and submitted to Mercy, causing many others of their Subalternates to do the like, and bring in their Arms ; insomuch, that Roads that a little before lay unfrequented by Travellers for fear of this rapacious sort of People, were again frequented, and those that had been so terrible to them, now proved their Guards in many places, to protect them against such as yet held out, by which means the face of things seemed wonderfully changed, and a Country that a little before had been so bloody a Scene of War, now promised, and gave a large prospect of a durable Peace, attended with Plenty, and a greater advancement by Trade than ever, in consideration of a greater assurance of Security given, especially to the Protestants, by the glorious Success of Their Majesties Arms, than has been in the former Reigns.

Although *Sarsfield*, *Sheldon*, and others, who centered their Fortunes and Interest in the late King, who had mainly raised them
by

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by his Favours, expected to draw after the greater part of the Disciplined Soldiers to be disposed of in the Service of the *French King*, as also some of the Gentry and Nobility ; yet they missed of their aim.

Matters being thus brought to a Conclusion in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, care was taken to put our Troops into Winter-Quarters, who by such extraordinary Enterprizes so swiftly succeeding each other, were somewhat harassed, and required for the recovery of their Strength and Health, more Refreshment and Ease than the Field could any ways afford them.

And in this such order and care was taken, that none should be endamaged in the Quarters ; but if any such thing happened by any Oppression or Unruliness of the Officers or Soldiers, the Party grieved, upon Complaint to those appointed to inspect and regulate these Affairs, should have speedy redress.

That the fears of the Countries about *Limerick* might be at an end, the *French* and *Irish* that resolved for *France*, were furthered by the *English*, by way of Friendly Assistance, for their Embarquement on such Ships as were ordered or allowed to carry them to their desired Ports.

The Lords Justices received an Account on the First of *November*, from Major-General *Talmash*, That the *French* and *Irish* marched out of the *English* Town on the First of the said Month, and part of them embarked on the *French* Ships that were permitted to enter the River *Shannon*, in order to transport them.

The General, after the many glorious Successes that Crowned Their Majesties Arms under his Command in so short a time, arriving at *Dublin*, was received several Miles from that City, by a great Body of the Gentry on Horseback; and approaching through the loud Shouts and Acclamations of the crouding People, was received at the Gates by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in their Formalities, and highly welcomed, and the Ceremony performed upon the occasion of his coming to that Capital City, ended with a general Joy, and the highest marks of Respect to a Person who had been so serviceable to the Kingdom.

His Majesties Birth-Day, and the Anniversary of the Powder-Plot, were likewise observed with all imaginable Demonstrations of Loyalty, and Marks of Firmness to the Protestant Religion.

Nor

Nor were some of the Papists wanting to express their satisfaction to see the Hero, who had been so mainly Instrumental in restoring them that Peace they had so rashly forfeited ; and had leisure during almost a three Years, to repent of the trouble they had given the Kingdom, and of the Losses themselves sustained.

Whilst this Joy lasted, care was taken to order the Garrisons, and provide them with such Necessaries where they were wanting, as might serve for the Winter Stores, and put the Soldiers in a good plight. Nor was the Joy for these Successes bounded in this Island, but spread into remote Countries ; so that in the Camps of the Allies the Cannon was fired, and all other Demonstrations of a high satisfaction for the Success of Their Majesties Arms were set on foot : tho' the *French* Commanders, especially in their Camps, laboured to extenuate these brave and vigorous Undertakings, crowned with such ample Success, least it should dishearten and abate the Courage of their Men, who already by their frequent deserting, seemed to grow weary of a War, wherein they too plainly found, that instead of what they formerly gained by Plundering, and laying defenceless Places waste, they must expect nothing but Blows, and severe Treatment.

Thus

Thus we see, through God's Blessing upon
Their Majesties Arms, this Kingdom is once
again in a happy way to be prosperous, and
more entirely happy than ever.

F I N I S.



See Ireland rising from a bed of war
 Receiv'ing peace from her kind conqueror
 With arms unfetter'd she her king receiv'ing
 And God protects whilst heaven plenty giv'ing

The TRUE IMPARTIAL
HISTORY and WARS
OF THE
Kingdom of IRELAND,
DESCRIBING

Its Situation, Division into Provinces,
Shires, &c. Its Ancient Inhabitants,
Manners, Customs, and the State it was in at
its being first Invaded and Conquer'd by the
English, in the Reign of K. Henry II.

WITH THE
Several Revolts and Rebellions of the
Natives, and by what means they have been
reduced to Obedience in the Reign of our
several Kings and Queens.

BUT
More particularly relating to all the
Memorable Skirmishes, Battles, Sieges, and
other extraordinary Transactions, since the
Grand Revolution under the Reign of their
Present Majesties K. *William* and Q. *Mary*,
to the Siege and Surrender of *Limerick*,
Octob. 4. 1691. and many other things that
have since happened : Being a History full
of Variety, and worthy the Perusal of the
Ingenious Reader.

Licensed and Entred according to Order.

L O N D O N : Printed for *Nicholas Boddington* at the
Golden Ball in *Duck-Lane.* 1 6 9 2.

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THE
EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

READER,

IN this small Book you are presented with a long Prospect of an Opulent Kingdom, not only in its Dimension and Description, but Historically treated of from the time it was first known to be peopled, to this present Year 1691, as well before the English had any knowledge of it, or so much as navigated the rough Hißernian Seas, as after it allured them to its Conquest in the Reign of Henry II. since which time it has been a dependant Kingdom by Right of Conquest, and now inseperably annexed to the Imperial Crown of England. To shake off which Sovereignty it has often

The Epistle to the Reader.

struggled in vain, and smarted under the many Wars and Rebellions that have been raised on that Account ; yet, as if infatuated, those Warnings have been little available to the Natives, as will appear in the Relation we give you of what has happened worthy of Notice, in the Reigns of our Kings and Queens, since its Subjection, but more particular, the Transactions for Three Tears past, as relating to Councils, Policies, Skirmishes, Sieges, and what else materially happened till the Siege and Surrender of Limerick. A History so full of variety, that we cannot conceive but it will give ample satisfaction beyond what has been published of this kind : And so not doubting but upon that score it will find Acceptance and Approbation in the hands of the Impartial and Unprejudic'd Perusers, I make bold to subscribe myself, the Candid Reader's Well-wisher, and

Most Humble Servant,

J. S.

THE INTRODUCTION.

That *Ireland* has been very antiently inhabited, it appears not only by their own, but many other Historians, to whom a greater Credit is to be given; and tho' (the Natives being little given to Navigation) its Fame has not much spread into the remoter parts of the World; yet for its Situation and Fertility, if the provident Care and Frugality of the *Irish* would but have help'd the Soil in any reasonable degree, it might be compared with most Islands, in producing things necessary not only for the supplying its Inhabitants, but such as could command the most valuable Commodities of *Europe*; yet the People of the Antient Stock not accustoming themselves to Labour, but rather to Spoil and War, desirous to live idly.

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idly upon the Product of the Country, and Manufacture of the industrious *English*, by such unlawful ways as opportunity has put into their hands, have in a great measure neglected their own Patrimonies, and suffered them in many places to become of no considerable Value, as being eaten up by the encroachment of Boggs, and overgrown with such Excrements of Nature as hinder Fertility; and this mainly out of not altogether so much sloth and neglect, as their irreconcilable hatred to those of the *British* Nation that inhabit amongst them, that they should get nothing by their Lands, tho' by their Friendly Instruction and Conversation they might have been exceedingly bettered in their Fortunes and Manners, and such Manufactures of sundry kinds improved, as might have redounded not only to their particular Interests, but to the inhansement of the Value of the Island among the Neighbouring Nations; for it not only abounds in Iron, but other useful Minerals; and many other things that might, if well improved, set the poorer sort on Work; and not only put an end to that Poverty that too much pinches the Natives, but likewise make their Traffick abroad considerable

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siderable enough to be taken Notice of, and bring them a Trade that in a short time would much contribute to the encrease of a greater Plenty, and prove a comfortable Maintenance to some thousands, who for several Years past have been destitute of such a Lively-hood as might render them capable of subsisting, and for want of which they have been forced to travel abroad and serve other Nations, where they are for the most part treated little better than Slaves, as well in War as other Employments, many of them, if we impartially consider their Merits, as to Education, Natural Endowments, deserving better usage; for it must be confessed by all unbiassed Persons, that the *Irish* Gentry are qualified sufficiently (at least the greatest Number of them) for great Undertakings, if they would according to what they understand, labour to improve their own advantage, by putting themselves forward in the World, to acquire those Preferments and Undertakings they are capable of, and might be very serviceable to the Government, but that most of them being *Roman Catholics*, and so superstitiously zealous in their way, that
they

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they are absolutely swayed and guided in all their Undertakings by their Priests who labour all that in them lies to keep up their Idolatrous Traditions, and themselves in esteem to their great advantage in gathering the Wealth of the Kingdom, and as they see their opportunity, stir them up to a dis-esteem of the Government, which has been the occasion of much Bloodshed, and brought Misery and Desolation upon the Land, that at sundry times has made it uneasy for many Years; and we are not insensible that in this last Revolt, which has been a smarting one to the *Irish*, the Priests hurried them, especially the meaner sort, into a fruitless Rebellion, by Threats of Excommunication, and all the Bugbear Fulminations of the *Romish* Church. Tho' at last it is hoped, seeing the Stream of Blood is now so kindly stopped in the Kingdom, that the Natives will see their former Errors, and stick to their Obedience, notwithstanding any Insinuations or under-hand Dealings that may hereafter be inculcated, or clandestinely carried on.

Never had the *Irish* Nation a better opportunity to lay hold on, for settling

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a lasting Happiness to Themselves, and their Posterities, under the Auspicious Reigns of a King and Queen, who make it their utmost Endeavours, and think it their greatest Felicity, to do their Subjects good, sparing no Charge, nor shunning any Hazard or Danger that may conduce to the Settlement of a glorious Peace, not only in their own Dominions, but in all *Europe*, and restore thereby, as far as lies in human possibility, the *Golden Age*, wherein all appeared serene and calm, whilst universal Joy spread her Downey Wings, to shelter the Delighted Nations from the Storms of Discontent and Trouble. From all which we may conclude: That if *Ireland* ever was desirous to be in a prosperous state, the time is come, that puts that Opportunity into the hands of her Inhabitants to become a happy People. When on the other hand, had things succeeded, as too many of them unadvisedly wished some few Months since, they might instead of being at perfect liberty, been the Sons and Daughters of Slavery, and the most severest of Bondages, under the *French* Tyranny; which how easie that Yoke is to bear, the Subjects of *France* have fatally experienced in the Reigns of

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of many of their former Kings, but more especially under *Lewis XIV.* to avoid which, the more discerning part have undergone a voluntary Exile, and become a scattered People over the face of the Earth, finding better usage in barbarous Nations.

This, I hope, may suffice to warn the *Irish*, to consider where their Interest lies, and to embrace Their Majesties Protection, as their true *Asylum*.

Y

A
TRUE and IMPARTIAL
HISTORY
OF THE
Kingdom of IRELAND,
DESCRIBING

Its Situation, Ancient Inhabitants, Manners, Customs, and the State it was found in at the Time it was Invaded and Conquered by the *English*, in the Reign of King *Henry II*, &c.

THE Kingdom of *Ireland* is of no mean Extent, but rather very large and considerable; it is an Island, it is bounded on the *East* with *England* and *Scotland*, on the *West* with the main Ocean, on the *South* with part of *France* and *Normandy*, and on the *North* with the *Du-calidonian* Sea: It is as all other Islands, surrounded with Water, containing in Length 400, and in Breadth 200 Miles, and is espe-

B

cially

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cially parted or divided into four Provinces, viz. 1. *Munster*, which is again divided into the Counties of *Limerick*, *Kerry*, *Waterford*, *Cork*, *Desmon*, and *Holy Cross* in *Tipperary*. 2. The Province of *Leinster*, divided into the Counties of the *East* and *West Meaths*, *Kilkenny*, *Caterlough*, *King's County*, *Kildare*, *Wexford*, *Dublin*, and *Wicklow*. 3. The Province of *Connaught*, divided into the Counties of *Clare*, *Thumond*, *Majo*, *Sligo*, *Letarim*, and *Roscomon*. 4. The Province of *Ulster*, divided into the Counties of *Tyrconnel*, *Tyrone*, *Cavan*, *Coleraine*, *Monaghan*, *Antrim*, *Down*, *Armah*, and *Lough*; and these are for the most part at this day, replenished with many considerable Cities and Towns, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the Series of this History, as they shall fall in their proper places. The Country is naturally very Fruitful, and seems by the Soil always to have been so, though the Natives have not appear'd very Active in Improving it, as being naturally given up to Sloath, or to live by War and Rapine. As for the first Peopling it after *Noah's Flood*, it remains very much, if not altogether in the Dark, the Natives having been imposed on by Monks and Bards, a sort of Rimers and Fortune-Tellers, with Fables for Reality, though it is conjectured by the Learned, that this Island was Peopled upon the Confusion of Tongues at *Babel*, soon after the Flood; and the *Irish* Historians of the best account, tell us, That one *Bastolentis*, encouraged by the Example of *Nimrod* in *Syria*, settled his Monarchy in the Western Islands, and amongst others Peopled this

yet where he kept his head Residence no mention is made, but that his three Sons Ruling there, had War with Giants that grew up in the Land and rebelled against them; and that afterward divers *Scythians* roving to seek Adventures, got footing there; and so they go on in the doubtful Paths of Uncertainty a great way farther: But true it is, that according to our own Histories, and those of other Nations, the *Irish* began very early to rove abroad, and in their Boats and such kind of Ships as they had, coming frequently ashore in *England* and *Scotland*, and other Places, did great Mischief by Burning and Plundering, but were frequently met withal, and a great many of them killed: nor do we find that the *Romans* when they conquered *Britain*, extended their Arms to *Ireland*.

It is held they were Converted to the Christian Religion by St. *James* the Apostle; and some give large grounds for it: but their Authors will have it done by one *Paladinus*, sent thither to that purpose by Pope *Celestine*, but more especially perfected by St. *Patrick*, to whom they ascribe a thousand Incredibilities: But, to leave these Conjectures, that are not greatly pertinent to our Matter, we now come nearer to that for which we have more War-rant and Certainty.

The first Acquaintance that the *English* had with the *Irish*, as to any thing that is remarkable, was in the Reign of *Henry* the Second of *England*, their chief Communication being with *France*, whither they sent several Bands of Soldiers to help them against the *English*, who

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were Waring there under their King for the Recovery of his Right in the Provinces that were his Grand-father's, which he having pretty well settled, turned his Thoughts upon *Ireland*, where he heard they were at Variance among themselves, the whole Land being divided under many Petty Princes, when it luckily happned a business fell out that gave him an easie Inlet to the Conquest of it; for in the Year 1167, the Eastern Part of the Island along the Sea being possessed by *Dormat Mac-mur*, King of *Leinster*, his Cruelties had highly incensed his Subjects against him, and what more raised their Fury, was, the Injury he did to *Morice* King of *Meath*, by wheedling away his Queen, and living with her in Adultery; so that the intraged Husband seeking Reparation and Revenge, invaded his Countries, by the Assistance of *Roderick O Connor*, King of *Connaught*, at the Terror of whose Approach, *Dormat* being detested, and forsaken of his Subjects, was forced to flee to *England*, and there implored Protection; which upon taking an Oath of Fidelity and Obedience to the King, was freely given him; and *Henry*, with a Sum of Money, procured leave of Pope *Adrian*, an *English*-man, promoted to *St. Peter's* Chair, that he might Conquer *Ireland*, promising moreover, thoroughly to establish the Christian Religion, and bring it to an Acknowledgement of the See of *Rome*; but whilst he was preparing to pass the Seas, new Troubles arose in his *French* Territories, that required his Presence; yet by his Letters Patents he gave Leave, with Encouragement to his

his Nobles, and such others as were willing to go for *Ireland*.

Dormat impatient of his Exile, mainly upon this Concession, solicited *Richard* the King's Son, promising not only his Daughter, a very beautiful young Lady in Marriage, but great Possessions in the Country, when he should be restored, and all his Territories after his Death. The young Prince being of a Warlike Temper, and thirsting after Glory, resolved, though his Father was absent, to undertake this Expedition; and early the next Spring sailed from *Bristol* with divers Ships, on board which were thirty Knights, sixty Esquires, and three hundred Archers, the first *English*-men ever known to Land in a Hostile manner in *Ireland*, and being met by *Dormat* with such Forces as he, going over a little before, had raised, they seized upon the Town of *Wexford*, which was given to one *Finegas*, a *Welsh* Gentleman, according to Agreement, in his raising part of the Forces; to that News of this, and other Successes flying to *England*, many Adventurers came over; and although the Petty Kings joyned their Forces, yet were they beat in divers bloody Battles: and *Dormat* being restored, had *Dublin* submitted to him, inflicting grievous Punishments upon such of his Capital Enemies as he found there.

The Prince being now in *Ireland*, greatly increasing in Strength, that came over to him, carried all before him; which made King *Henry*, who feared the Prince's Aspiring upon such Successes, and willing to have the Honour of Conquering so large a Kingdom himself, sent

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his Mandate to re-call the *English* out of *Ireland*, so that but a few being left with the Prince in *Dublin*, and they reduced to a great streight by the *Irish* that had taken heart, they nevertheless sallied upon an Army of 30000 with not above 1500 Men, and utterly routed them, taking great Spoil; and then coming for *England*, he surrendered all the Cities and Forts he had taken into his Father's Hands, for *Dormat* by this time was dead; and in the Year 1172, King *Henry* landed with a Royal Army, which brought such a Terrour upon *Ireland*, that *Roderick*, and most of the Petty Princes that were Independant, or his Tributaries, came with their humble Supplications to intreat him, That he would take the Government upon him, as the Supream Prince and Lord: so that at *Glennmas* he made them a Noble Feast in *Dublin*, and settled the Kingdom in Civil and Criminal Matters, Reforming Abuses: And soon after those that were out in *War* were brought to submit, from which time we may Date the Conquest of *Ireland* by the *English*, under which Sovereignty it has ever since remained as a conquered Kingdom, and now annexed to the Crown: yet the Natives who are generally hot spirited, uneasy, and restless under Restraint, have often strugled to break this Chain, though to the Loss and Disadvantage mostly of themselves.

King *Richard* the First, by reason of his Wars in the *Holy Land*, his Imprisonment upon his Return, in *Austria* and the Empire, and other

other Disappointments he met with at Home, had no War with the *Irish*, nor happened there any thing extraordinary, but care and industry to settle the Government; which was done with such tenderness, that the Natives being more civilized, began to think themselves happy in the change, and that they were redeemed from perpetual War, which when so many Princes governed as Absolute in their Dominions, could not be avoided among so rough and stubborn a People. But because King *Edward* the First had sent for Forces out of *Ireland*, to help him against the *Scots*, with whom he had mortal Wars, the wilder sort of the *Irish* in *Edward* the Second's time invited them over, and many of the leading Men of the Natives revolted, ruining the Country; but upon the *English* joyning Battle with them they were routed, and about 11000 slain, among whom was a King of *Connaught*, and one *Ogby* a Lord of great Possessions: but soon after the Lord *Roger Mortimer* being sent over as Lord Justice of *Ireland*, he managed Matters so ill, that the *Scots* were again called in under *Edward Bruce*, Brother to the *Scots* King, who taking several places by the Revolt of the *Irish* from the *English* Obedience, caused himself to be Crowned King of *Ireland*; but in a great Battle his Forces being routed, and he labouring to restrain their flight, was killed by one *Morepass*, whom he likewise requited with Death before his Fall, and the dead Bodies fell by that means on each other, which happened in the Year 1320.

However they were rather dispersed than broken, doing considerable mischief where they found an opportunity to fall upon the *English*, that had settled themselves in the Towns and Villages near the Sea, &c.

In the Year 1329, during the Reign of King *Edward* the Third, the *Irish* in *Leinster* and *Meath* rebelled; against whom the Earl of *Ormond* drew out what Forces he could, but being over-poured in number, was defeated, and the *Irish* made great Spoils of the *English* Possessions, and amongst other Barbarities, burnt eighty of them in a Church where they had fled for Refuge; but at last the *English* fortified themselves in *Wexford*, and upon their approach to besiege it, sallied out upon them with such Courage, that Success crowned it, and 4000 of the *Irish* were killed, most of them that fled being hotly pursued, were drowned in the River *Slane*; which with some other Encounters, where Victory declared on our side, so quelled them, that in this King's Reign they rebelled no more.

Anno 1398, in the Reign of King *Richard* the Second, the *Irish* fell again into Rebellion, and by Surprize fall upon the King's Lieutenant, and divers Persons of Quality, whom they slew; which made the King with considerable Forces hast thither, and Landing, he put them in all parts to the Rout, killing a great many, and taking several of their Ring-Leaders; and keeping his Court of State at *Dublin*, to him resorted the Nobility, and chief
of

of the *Irish*, submitting and paying him Homage, promising to keep the Country in quiet for the future : but Troubles arising in *England*, the King hastily left *Ireland*, and was no sooner arrived in *Wales*, but finding himself deserted, he betook him to a Castle, where he was seized by *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, to whom he resign'd his Crown, and was afterward inhumanly murdered. Upon whose Death many Troubles and Contentions arose ; so that the *English* being embroyled at home, *Ireland* was little minded, the People there doing, in a manner, what they pleased. But in the Reign of *Henry the Fifth*, we being settled at home, more care was taken to prevent the Outrages and Depradations of the *Irish* ; in-somuch, that several who had been formerly Offenders were punished, and others fled, amongst whom were divers of their Great Ones, who notwithstanding the care of the Earl of *Ormond*, then Lieutenant of the Kingdom, to repress them, drew a great multitude of People into Rebellion : but the Earl gave Battle at *Redmoor-Athy*, where the *Irish* under the Leading of *O Moor*, stood stoutly to it, as Men in despair ; but after a Bloody Fight, that coloured all the Ditches of the Fens with Blood, the Battle swerved, and the *Irish* were defeated with great slaughter. Which quelled them in so terrible a manner, that for a long time after they seemed out of Love with War : So that nothing memorably occurs in History, till the Reign of *Henry the Seventh*, when the Earl of *Kildare* being Deputy, one *Richard Symons*, a Priest wheedled him into a belief,

that one *Lambert*, a Youth whom he had brought up as his Scholar, was really the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to *George Duke of Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, that had escaped out of the *Tower*, and was come thither for Protection; and the young Spark having been well tutored, and of a graceful Carriage, so well acted his part, that not only the Lieutenant, but a great many of the *Irish* Nobility sided with him, raising considerable Forces to espouse his Quarrel, Crowning him King in *Dublin*, and not content to keep him there, they brought him with a considerable Army into *England*, Landing in *Lancashire*, and Proclaiming him. But the King's Forces advancing, they were in a Set-Battle overthrown, and the Imposter taken Prisoner, the Priest hanged, &c.

They likewise in this King's Reign aided another, called *Perkin*, or *Peter Warbeck*, who stiled himself Duke of *York*, younger Son to *Edward* the Fourth; but in this they had no better success than in the former, a great many being killed, the Impostor taken, after several Attempts, and bloody Encounters, having engaged the *Scots* as well as *Irish*, on his part, marrying the Lady *Catharine Gordon*, Niece to that King; he was first obliged to confess his Impostor, how he was set on, maintained and encouraged by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, Sister to *Edward* the Fourth, and then being publicly punished, was sent to the *Tower*, from whence endeavouring to escape, he was executed, and with him the real Earl of *Warwick*, who had been kept a Prisoner there a conside-

nable time : all that was alledged against him was, that he attempted to make his Escape with *Perkin*, to raise new Commotions.

In the Reign of *Henry* the Eighth, great Commotions were stirred up, which were at first suddenly appeased, but the Earl of *Kildare* being Deputy, the People exhibited their Complaints against him to the Court of *England*, as the cause of many Disturbances by his severe using them, and amongst other Articles they had this, *viz. All Ireland is not able to Rule this Earl.* Then, said the King, *this Earl is the fittest Man to Rule all Ireland :* and thereupon he continued him Deputy, it appearing this hatred against him proceeded only from the strict hand he had over them to keep them from rebelling. And another was, *That he had caused to be burned the Cathedral Church of Cashal.* The Arch-bishop of that place being his chief Accuser, and when every one would have denied it, he bluntly replied, *By Chreest, I would never have done it, had I not been told the Arch-bishop was in it.* Which plain dealing made the King smile, and the Arch-bishop storm and fret : however, the Earl was ordered to rebuild it at his own charge, and so continued in his Deputy-ship ; but often fell into displeasure by reason of his plain-downright dealing ; and Cardinal *Wolsey* now ruling all at Court, for speaking too plain to him upon his Examination at the Council-Board, where *Wolsey* sat as President, he sent him to the *Tower*, and ordered a War-

rant for his Execution without the King's Knowledge; of which the King having Notice by the Lieutenant, was mightily incensed at *Wolsey*, and that great Favourite soon after falling into disgrace, the Earl was released and sent to *Ireland* with one Sir *William Sheington*, who was made Deputy: however the *O Moors* fell into Rebellion, but being opposed by Forces drawn out of *Dublin*, they were dispersed, and many of them killed, and for that time the Tempest blown over, however it lasted not long for the Earl of *Kildare's* Enemies, having again upon many grievous Complaints prevail'd to have him sent for to *England*, he was committed to the *Tower*; whereupon his Son, the Lord *Thomas*, notwithstanding the Persuasions of the Chancellour to avert him from it, fell into Rebellion, and drew great Forces after; yet driven at last to extrem Necessities, he was perswaded by the Lord *Grey*, then Deputy of the Kingdom, to submit himself to King *Henry's* Mercy, without hope of Pardon; but some of his Followers having killed *Alen* Arch-bishop of *Dublin*, he was upon his Arrival committed to the *Tower*; and King *Henry* being informed, that the *Geraldine* Family had vowed never to have Peace with him, he sent for the Earl's five Brothers in Custody; when one of them during their crossing the Seas, demanded of the Master, what the Name of the Ship was? who replied, *The Cow*: Nay then, said he, looking on the rest with a dejected Countenance, *we are all lost Men; for now a Prophecy comes into my Head, that says, Five Brethren*

of

of an Earl should be carried into *England* in the Belly of a Cow, and never come back again: and I doubt not, but all things sitting so pat, we are they. And indeed so it happen'd; for being accused of the late Rebellion, though two of them were ignorant of it; the Lord Thomas, Son to the Earl, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, and the five Brethren hanged drawn and quartered at *Tyburn*, and the Earl soon after died in the *Tower* of Grief, which destroyed the Center of that Noble Family; for although one Brother escaped, yet travelling through many Countries, he at last came to *Naples*, and there died Childless. Nor did the Lord Grey escape for being countermanded, and accused of holding Correspondency with this Family, though without any notable Proof he was condemned for High-Treason, and beheaded on *Tower-Hill*.

The Kings of *England*, the better to please the Natives of *Ireland*, having been all this while only called *Lords* of *Ireland*; the Parliament sitting at *Westminster* in the 33d year of *Henry's* Reign, invested with the Title of *King* of *Ireland*: whereupon the Earl of *Ty-rone*, and divers others rebelled; but in some bloody Encounters being defeated, the Earl was at last subdu'd, and brought Prisoner for *England*; yet upon his humble Submission released and sent over, upon promise of keeping the Country in quiet; which he pretty well observed during the short Reigns of King *Edward* the Sixth, and Queen *Mary*, only some petty Commotions happened that were soon quieted.

In the Year 1566, being the Seventh Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, one of the chief Lords of *Ireland*, named *Donald Mac Carti More*, upon some little stirs that happened, came over, and not only cleared himself to the Queen, but delivered up to her all his Territories, vowing perpetual Fealty ; but she in gratitude restored them again, and made him Earl of *Glencare*, giving him a considerable Sum to bear his Expences ; so that by his great Authority amongst the Natives, it was thought the Kingdom would be kept quiet ; but it proved otherwise : for after some private Conspiracies, that never broke our, were defeated, the Earl of *Desmond*, the Eleventh Earl of that Title, who had great Territories, and abundance of Followers, broke into open Rebellion, and did great damage to the *English*, driving them out of many places, killing divers Gentlemen in Revenge, as he said, of the Earl of *Kildare* and his Family being put to Death ; and amongst others, one with whom he had contracted a strict Friendship, and usuallv called Father, who when he saw him with his drawn Sword breaking into his Chamber, and relying upon his former Friendship, cried out, *What is the matter Desmond, my Son ?* to whom the bloody Earl sternly replied, *I am no longer thy Son, nor thou my Father ; but thou shalt surely die :* and thereupon they put him, and all they found in the House to the Sword.

These Outrages alarmed the Lord Deputy, who drawing out his Forces, after divers Skirmishes put the Earl to the Rout, who being forsaken of his Followers, lurked for some time in the Bogs and Mountains; but miserable want driving him thence among the Cottages, he was there found and slain by a private Souldier, when his Head being conveyed to *England*, was set upon *London-Bridge*; and so fell this Eleventh Earl of *Desmond*. But in his Grave the restless Spirits of the *Irish* were not buried, for casting their Eyes on the Family of the *Bourks*, they gave out they would have an eminent Person of that Family to be their King, or Governour; and many Tumults were raised: but this prudent Queen, notwithstanding some intestine Troubles at home, took such care, that she a long time by Policy and Force reduced the unruly Natives to their Obedience; the former of which was particularly effected by driving away their Cattle, and making them submit through extremest necessity, after they had been got together in the Woods, about forty Days. The Second was by the timely Notice the Deputy had of Two thousand *Scotch Highlanders* landing to joyn with the *Irish*, and knowing nothing that they had laid down their Arms; as to their greatest number, they came on with such as fell in with them by the way, in hopes to joyn the rest, breaking into the Province of *Connaught*, where indeed a great many of the Country Peasants took Arms on their part; but the Lord-Deputy by speedy Marches towards them, and finding they were got into

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Bogs and Fastnesses, after he had encamped within sight a-while, feigned a Retreat, and they, by reason of their over-numbring him, supposing he had fled, immediately followed; but were no sooner trained on the firm ground, e're the *English* faced about, charged their Front and Flanks, piercing the Array of their Battle, and put them to utter rout and confusion, so that not above eighteen of them escaped of upwards of Three thousand, which crushed the *Scots* attempting to help them in their Rebellion.

These bad 'Successes shewing plainly, the Hand of Heaven against them, did not however make them sensible of their misfortune, in taking up Arms against a powerful Nation; for perceiving themselves too weak to struggle in the Lyon's Paws, they began to tamper with other Nations, alledging after the Reformation, *Religion*, as a ground to justify their Rebellions, though they were ever starting from their Allegiance, when both Nations professed that of the Roman Catholick Communion; but now taking this for a plausible pretext, the Earl of *Tyrone* began underhand to deal with *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, for Succours of Men and Ammunition, promising to hold the Kingdom at his Devotion: but this being about to be discovered by *Hugh O Neal*, *Tyrone* in a rage clapped a Cord about his Neck, and strangled him with his own hands. Notwithstanding this, it was known, and he summoned to answer it in the *English* Court; and upon some assurance of Pardon he went, submitting himself, and making

king such plausible Protestations of Innocency, that times running high by reason that the *Spaniards* were about to Invade *England*, he was pardoned, and sent over again, but afterward proved Ingrateful, and a very dangerous Enemy.

Much about this time one *Mac Malcoon*, a leading Man among the *Irish*, stirred up Com-motions about paying Taxes, for which he was taken, tried, and executed, his Estate being given partly to his Family, and partly to the *English*, that living upon it they might curb and over-awe the rest: Whereupon one *Brian O Roch*, who had sided with him, to prevent a present Punishment, fell into an open Rebel-lion; but upon the Rout that immediately was given him, he fled into *Scotland* for Pro-tection, but the Queen's Influence was so great upon that Kingdom, that she had him deliver-ed up; and being tried at *Westminster*, he was there found Guilty, and being carried to Ty-burn, he was there executed without being con-cerned at Death.

These things having been buzed in the ears of the Multitude, to have been done in an Ar-bitrary Way, the Earl of *Tyrone* thought it a fit time to lay hold of their Discontents, and raised all the Forces he could, calling in the *Spaniard*, and imploring the other *Roman Ca-tholick Nations* to assist him, as he pretended, to prevent Heresies over-running that King-dom; nor was the Pope, to whom he had sent one *Stewkley*, an *English* Renagado, as his A-gent, wanting to further his Design, causing 600 Harquibuffers to be levied in the Terri-tories

ories of the Church, for the Service of *Tyrone*: But *Stewkley*, who commanded them, coming into the Port of *Lisbon* with them, at what time King *Don Sebastian* was going to invade *Africa*, he retained them for his Service, when at the fatal Battle of *Alcazar* against the *Moors*, they were all cut to pieces: However, *Tyrone* being very much strengthened, gave the *English* a great Overthrow, and put all *Connaught*, *Ulster* and *Munster* in Arms; and the War after that went on with doubtful Success, sometimes one Party prevailed and sometimes another. Here the famous Earl of *Essex*, the great Favourite of Queen *Elizabeth*, commanded; but whilst he was Fighting in *Ireland*, he was undermined by his Foes at the *English* Court, and being called Home, and some Misdemeanours in this War, and other things charged against him, he was confined to his House, where falling into Discontent, he after having imprisoned the Privy-Counsellors that were sent to him from the Queen, he broke out into open Violence, for which he lost his Head on *Tower-hill*. The Fall of so brave a Souldier proving afterward no small cause of Grief to the Queen; and his Loss was greatly regreted by the People, whose Darling he was.

The Lord *Norrice* being Deputy of *Ireland* in the stead of the Earl of *Essex*, he followed his Business so close, that giving *Tyrone* several Overthrows, and beating out the *Spaniards* that came to his Assistance, he at last was left by his Followers, who cursing him for bringing them into such Troubles, shifted as they could;

could ; so that after he had lurked up and down some Months, suffering extream Necessity, he came and surrendered himself to the Lord-Deputy, upon promise he should be sent over to *England*, there to throw himself at the Queen's Feet for Mercy ; and according he was sent over and committed to the Tower ; but the Queen dying before he could be brought to Tryal, King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England*, coming to the Crown, he was by an Act of Indemnity pardoned, and set at Liberty, he and all his Adherents, promising exact Obedience for the future ; and that wise King knowing how to settle a troublesome Nation, as having been brought up in one himself, he knew it was best to prevent and lay aside Animosities, and therefore by his Proclamation of Pardon, he utterly extinguished all Offences, not only against the Crown, but between Subject and Subject, as to particular Trespases ; and the like to every one that at a set day would appear and claim the Benefit of his Pardon before the Justice of Assize, and Publick Justice for that purpose being settled in every County, it abated much of the Tyranny their Petty Lords had over them, and made the Vulgar sort of them sensible of the Goodness of the *English* Laws, of which before they had purposely been kept in Ignorance : Being now for the most part freed from their Servitude, and in the King's immediate Protection, so that if their Lords had a mind to Rebel, they could not compel their Tenants to Rise as they had formerly done : and *Ireland* being now divided

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ded into Shires, the Circuits were erected in every Province; and the *English* had their Lands allotted, and more particular Colonies established, so that Trade began to flourish; and several Corporations of the City of *London* having purchased large Proportions of Land, built a strong Town for their Security, against the Incursions of the *Irish* that might happen, very advantageously situate on the Bank of a River and Lough, which made a wonderful Change, to all appearance, in the face of Things; but what can hinder a People from being Miserable that will make themselves so, as may not improperly say, in spite of Providence: the chief of the *Irish* were displeased at these Proceedings, finding the *English* Improvement rendered such Plenty in the Kingdom, as made their Land of little Value; and therefore many of them spitefully let them lye neglected to be over-run with Thistles and Briars, cursing their Posterity if ever they had any Communication with the *English*, or so much as Ploughed or Sowed; by which their irreconcilable Hatred to us may be measured.

The ordinary sort of People notwithstanding their Lords Diswaſions, finding they had not their former Power to compel, perceiving Advantage to arise by this new Settlement, inhabited very friendly with the *English*, and by their Examples began to improve themselves in Industry, and seemed averse to be stirred up as formerly upon every slight Occasion to Rebel, insomuch that a long Peace ensued, and that brought with it extraordinary Plenty; but

as nothing is certain or permanent upon Earth, so in process of Time this Golden Cord of Union between the two Nations was violently cut in sunder.

Troubles arising in the Year 1641, thro' a Misunderstanding, and fomented Heats blown by secret Enemies, and War being in prospect between *England* and *Scotland*, several of the Native *Irish* Chiefs, not finding the People prone to hearken to them, incited the Popish Priests, who by promising them Heaven for Obedience to their Commands, and Damnation on the contrary, with many other strange Stories and things, pushed them headlong on to one of the blackest Iniquities the Sun has for many Ages beheld, and was too late discovered to be prevented, for it happened, that on the 23d of *October*, the *Irish*, headed by a great many of their Nobility and Gentry, rose generally in Arms, seizing upon divers strong Places, Arms, Ammunition, and all that came to hand, vowing the utter Destruction of all the *English* in *Ireland*, to Exterminate them from the face of the *Irish* Earth, both Root and Branch; and this was discovered but one Night before it was to be executed; by which Providence however *Dublin* and some other Places, by the Imprisoning the Conspirators, and Fortifying them with good Garisons, were secured, and became a Refuge to the Lives of many; so that now one might every-where behold Houses flaming, the miserable People flye every-where for their lives, whilst the Bloud of many were mingled

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led with Flames, and the Earth made red^d by the Blood of those that were slaughtered in the Fields and Ways; thousands were drowned in Rivers and Lakes till the Stream was glutted with the dead Bodies, and they Bridged over the Waters; many were ripped up alive, and others tortured in a more cruel manner, some were turned out into Snows and Frost and starved to death; the Priests and Fryars going along with the Murtherers, and beating them on to it with their Crucifixes, telling them, They were Hereticks, and no longer to be suffered alive on the Earth; and that it was so far from a Sin to kill them, that it was Meritorious, and even Damnation itself to spare them; giving the Sacrament to the more scrupulous of Conscience to confirm them in the Bloudy Enterprize; so that in a short space, before any Succour could come from *England*, they destroyed by sundry barbarous ways 200000 Men, Women, and Children, burnt most of their Houses and Villages, killing their Cattle, and suffering them to rot upon the Ground, rooting up likewise their newly sprouted Corn, as maliciously bent not only to destroy the People, but in Hatred and utter Detestation all that appertained to them; flattering themselves by the Inducement of old lying Prophecies, to shake off the *English* Yoke, and choose them a King from among their Country-men, but Fate consented not.

The King was at the beginning of this fatal Mischief in *Ireland*, upon the Borders of *Scotland*, labouring to Compose the Differences; recommending the Care of *Ireland* to his

Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, who promised a speedy Relief and Assistance to the Protestants that were got together in Arms, and stood upon their Defence; Voting 50000 Pound for to raise Forces; and the Earl of *Ormond* was made Lieutenant-General of the Royal Forces in that Kingdom; to joyn whom Sir *Simon Hurcourt* was sent out of *England* with a Regiment. So that the poor Remnant of the Protestants getting together, made the *Irish* Papist that were so good at base and unmanly Murthers, flie the Face of War. But Troubles growing fast on in *England*, by the Misunderstanding between King *Charles* the First and his Parliament, and it sprouting up into a miserable Civil War, most of the guilty Persons at this time escaped unpunished: But the small Force of the Protestants that were left, being once united, forced the *Irish* out of their strong Hold, and restored the Face of Government; yet about eight Years after a bloody Scene was acted, for King *Charles* the First, loosing his Kingdoms with his Life, his Eldest Son *Charles*, as his undoubted Right, taking upon him the Kingly Dignity, though in Exile, *England* being cast, as they termed it, into a Modle of a Free State, or Republick, the Marquess of *Ormond*, Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, was commissioned to Labour the Securing that Country to the behoof of his Master King *Charles* the Second; and finding no other Means to do it in that Imergency, he closed his Interest with the Chief of the leading *Irish*, concluding a Peace in the King's Name, with the

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most considerable of them, upon Submission and Obedience to his Majesty, there being a Concession of certain Articles on the part of the Marquess to be performed, when being joyned by the Marquess of *Clanricard*, and the Lord *Inchequeen*, the Earl of *Castlehaven*, &c. *Trim* and *Tredah* or *Drogheda*, upon a Defeat they gave the Forces that came from *England*, surrendered: and now *Dublin* wherein was a strong Garison commanded by Collonel *Jones*, being the only place of strength that held out, the Marquess laid Siege to it, with a brave Army to appearance, but it seems there were too many *Irish* in it, for the Besieged taking the advantage of the Carelessness of the Camp, made at first very slender Sallies, but finding the advantage, they sallied with their whole strength, and beating the Besiegers out of their Works, followed them into their Camp, which occasioned such Terrour and Confusion, that the *Irish* fled, and left the *English* and some few *French* to stand to it, but being overpowered by the vigorous Attaques, they at length, after a sharp and bloody Dispute, gave way, and were forced to raise the Siege, whilst the Besieged became Masters of their Camp, and an extraordinary Rich Booty; and more Forces arriving from *England*, Fortune went against them almost every-where: and now *London-Derry* being besieged, that Siege was raised by Sir *Charles Coot*: but what yet was a greater Terrour, *Cromwell*, a vowed and mortal Enemy to the *Irish*, landed with seven Regiments of Foot, four Regiments of Horse, and one of Dragoons, bringing along with him the

the Title of Lord Governour, or Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and had to bring over these Forces forty Sail of Ships, with battering Peices, Mortars, Ammunition, and all other Warlike Stores and Materials.

He staid a while to visit *Dublin*, and then marched with a compleat Army to besiege *Drogheda*, wherein was a strong Garison of *English* and *Irish*, it being upon the Rumour of his Approach re-inforced with 2500 Foot, and 300 Horse, and although it was stoutly defended, yet it was carried by Force, and by the too cruel Order of the General, all were put to the Sword, not respecting Age nor Sex, except a very few who hid themselves for many Days, till the Fury was over: And here it is the more to be lamented, because this Brunt fell mostly upon many brave *English* Gentlemen, who were got into the Place to Defend it for their King. Other Towns were likewise taken by Storm, and treated at the like rate; so that a bloody Vengeance seemed to fall heavy upon a great many that were Innocent for the Sins of the Guilty, who had so lately poluted the Land with Innocent Blood, and now kept mostly out of the way in the Mountains, Bogs, and Fastnesses; however, being at last hunted from place to place, a great number fell by the Sword, Famine, and Pestilence, insomuch that the Land was greatly Depopulated, a third part of the People being wasted, and had severe Task-Masters over them that made them Groan under their Burthens, till *Charles* the Second

C

came

came to lighten their Shoulders, and restore them again their Peace and Ease, by Accession to the Crown upon the Happy Restauration; so that the People wearied with their former Miseries, began to be out of love with War and Insurrections, and seemed mightily inclinable to Peace: And indeed the King took care to place such Ministers of State amongst them, especially the Lords Lieutenants and Lords Justices, that they had no reasonable cause to Complain of their Usage, either in Affairs Civil or Military; and indeed the Tranquility the Kingdom enjoyed, made the People in a great measure forget what they had suffered: They traded to *France* and *Spain* with the Product of their Native Soil; the Rivers and Lakes likewise affording them plenty of Fish, which they transported for Wine and other Commodities; nor did their Thoughts appear to be elevated above what was reasonable, till the Death of that King; but when King *James* the Second ascended his Brother's Throne, and declared himself a *Roman Catholick*, then it was the *Irish* Papists began to prick up their Ears, and to expect Advantages beyond their Abilities, publicly declaring, The Day was their own, and that the Protestant Religion must go down. But it seems in this, as in their other Aims, they took such Measures as made them shoot wide of their Mark.

The Earl of *Tyrconnel*, who had been raised by King *James*, when Duke of *York*, from a mean to a considerable Figure, was looked upon

upon as a fit Instrument to carry on the Design in that Kingdom; and therefore upon the re-calling of the Right Honourable the Earl of *Clarendon*, he was made Lord-Lieutenant, and soon gave the *Irish* great Hopes of Superiority over the *English* in that Kingdom, by first Cashiering the Protestant Souldiers and Officers that were in Arms, and then the Officers and Ministers of Justice: And though there were Complaints made against him at the *English* Court, yet they were not regarded, but he the rather encouraged in this Enterprizes; insomuch, that things run so high that many feared a fatal Event, and divers left thereupon the Kingdom; some going for *Holland*, others for *Scotland* and *England*: and in such a method Matters continued to be pushed violently on, till News came of a purposed Invasion of the Kingdom of *England* by the Prince of *Orange*, now our Sovereign, then *Tyrconnel* bestir'd himself to secure *Ireland*, Imprisoning such as he suspected, and Disarming others; draining the Garisons of the most expert *Irish* Souldiers that were Papists, and sending them over to the number of 3000, or thereabout, to the Assistance of his Master; but they did him far more hurt than good by increasing the Peoples Fears that were but before suggested: and indeed the whole *English* Nation Revolting in a manner from King *James*, and what was more remarkable, a great part of the Army he had been so long Training up at a vast Expence. Upon the landing of the Prince with his Forces, the *I-*

rish Forces that had been sent over in expectation of Mountains, found that they were not only dwindled into less than Mole-hills, but themselves in a miserable Condition, not only at the point of starving when Disbanded with the rest of the Forces, by the Earl of *Feversham*, but almost exposed to the Fury and violent Resentment of the People, who had conceived a Hatred against them; so that at last, submitting, they were taken care of, and most of them shipped for the Emperour's Service against the *Turks*.

Tyrconnel was not idle in *Ireland* upon the News he had from *England* of King *James* his Flight to *France*, but calling a Council mostly of his Creatures, told them, That now it was their time to stand up for their Country, and secure it against all Opposers; and that for his part, if even his Master should command him to deliver up the Sword, he should think it, in such a Juncture, his Duty to Refuse it: And immediately not only spread the News throughout the Country, but caused the *Irish* every-where to take Arms, such as they could get; so that the Tumultuous Rable getting together, plundered the Protestant Houses, drove away their Cattle, fired their Stacks of Corn and Hay, murdered some, and barbarously used others, insomuch that the Terrour working in all, such as could fled for their Lives, leaving their Substance behind them, and happy they thought themselves in that Condition, if they could pass the Seas, either to *England* or *Scotland*; for although

though several of the Protestant Nobility and Gentry made Head in the North, yet the Enemy having in their Possession all the strong Towns, they found themselves too weak to make any extraordinary Resistance against so mighty a Torrent as came roaring on; however, they gave several of their Parties notable Overthrows, fortifying *London-Derry*, *Slego*, and the Isle of *Inniskilling*, and such other Places and Difficulties of Access as they found Opportunity; for by this time *Tyrconnel* had given Orders for stopping the Ports, and made many large and plausible Offers to bring them over to his Party, but they prevailed on a very few.

The Prince and Princess being proclaimed King and Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, on the 14th of *February*, 1688. upon the Humble Address of both Houses of Parliament, great care was taken for the speedy succouring the oppressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and that the Papists in Arms against them, might be left without Excuse, a Proclamation was sent over offering, among other things, a Pardon and Indemnity for all that should in Obedience to it lay down their Arms and retire to their respective Places of abroad, and there peaceably behave themselves as Obedient Subjects ought to do, upon which Condition they should in full Freedom enjoy their Estates according to Law, and that the *Roman* Catholicks upon such Consideration should have all the Favour that the Law allows for the private Exercise of their Religion; with

a further Promise, That a Parliament should be speedily called in that Kingdom : But upon refusing to comply with the Royal Mandate, to be esteemed as Rebels and Traytors to the Crown of *England*, &c. their Lands and Possessions to be Forfeited, and disposed of by way of Distribution among those that should be Aiding and Assisting in the Reducing the Kingdom to its Obedience.

This Royal Concession, though *Tyrconnel* laboured what in him lay to hinder its being dispersed, wrought some good Effects, notwithstanding that Earl, to counterballance it put forth a Paper which he termed his Declaration, not only therein insinuating what great Advantage the Kingdom would reap by standing out, but that their Fears might be dissipated, he promised speedy Aids and Succour from *France*, and that they should not want for either Money or Provision ; and moreover, the better to encourage them, gave hopes of King *James's* speedy landing there with a numerous Army : And the better to secure himself, and keep up the Courage of his Party, he sent out Detachments to secure diverse Protestant Gentlemen in the Country, and make Garisons of their Houses: but the greater part of them having timely notice, made their Escapes ; by which the Protestants grew stronger in the *North* ; however their Goods and Possessions were destroyed and harrassed. The Priests being the greatest Incendiaries to stir up those that were actually in Arms to Spoil and Rapine, as being sure of a Share,

likewise to Arm the madding Multitude ; so that one might see Drovers of the latter, some half naked, others tattered, and all in miserable Rags, armed with Pitchforks, Bills, Staves, and what other Merciless Weapons they could get on the suddain, running like so many Furies, to spoil and plunder, and in their greediness of Prey, not many times distinguishing Papists from Protestants ; and it was strongly reported, That there was a great Debate in the Council, to which some Popish Bishops were admitted, about a General Massacre, as the best Expedient to clear the Country of Hereticks ; but *Tyrconnel* (let it be to his praise) had the Generosity to oppose and detest it, and put a stop in some measure to the mischievous progress of the Rabble, yet when some of the Chiefs who had got Protections from him, made their Complaints, That they were notwithstanding plundered: he only shook his Head, and told them, It was necessity that made his Men to do it, and he could no ways help or restrain it.

These violent proceedings made those that thought upon the Earl's Protection, they might have some confidence in their continuance as to safety, begin to make away for the Sea Coast ; and although the Masters of Ships were commanded on pain of Death to transport none, yet many escaped to *England* and *Scotland*, where they were well received, and Provision made for them by way of Publick Brief and Collection, &c.

About the latter end of *March*, the Abdicated King landed in *Ireland*, with a great Train of Officers, but very few Forces, and was received at *Dublin* with a mixture of Joy and Sorrow bringing with him as his Supervisor Monsieur *D'Avaux*, with some *French* Generals. The Recorder of *Dublin* made a long Speech to him upon his Arrival, extolling him for Courage, Conduct, and all the Heroick Virtues imaginable, above the Skies; and a general Joy spread in the Faces of the Roman Catholicks, thinking now the day was all their own, and not doubting to carry every thing by force, or submission: and more Souldiers were Listed and Regimented under the *French* Officers that came over, and care taken to lay up Stores: Money was every-where extorted, and the plundered Cattle, Corn, and Hay brought in, and sold at considerable Rates; insomuch, that they soon gathered an Army of between Forty and Fifty Thousand Men.

Whilst these things were doing at Land, the *English* Navy being out at Sea with a strict charge to hinder Correspondence between *France* and *Ireland*, the Squadron under the Command of Admiral *Herbert*, had Notice by their Scout Ships, that part of the *French* Fleet was abroad, and stood away to the *Irish* Coast; whereupon he made all the Sail he could after them, and the next Day found they stood into *Bantry Bay*, a very spacious bearing in of the Sea, and though for fear of the Shallows, and other Difficulties that might

might offer, it proved a work of difficulty to enter upon them, for they seemed no ways willing to come out to an Engagement, notwithstanding they were much superiour in number; yet the Admiral drawing his Ships into a Line, and lying upon the stretch, battered them extreemly from Ten in the Morning, till Five in the Afternoon, at what time the *French* Admiral tacked from us, and stood farther into the Bay: We killed them a great many Men; and some of our Men declared, they saw one of their Great Ships go to the bottom. On our side we lost Captain *Aylmer* of the *Portland*, with a Lieutenant, and about Three hundred Sea-men killed and wounded, and could our Fireships have entred upon them, most of their Ships, which were Forty four in number, to about Twenty Eight of ours, might have been destroyed.

Our Fleet after this Engagement came back to *Portsmouth*, and there refitted, whether the King of *England* went to take a view of them, and Dining aboard the Admiral, created him Earl of *Torrington*, &c. and distributed about Six thousand pound among the Seamen.

And now the *French* having violated the Peace, and undeniably begun the War in invading *Ireland*, the King delayed not to denounce the War against them by a Declaration to that purport, bearing Date the Seventh of *May*, 1689; and great Preparations were made for passing over to *Ireland*, Forces were Levied in all parts of *England*, and

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Money prepared for defraying the Charge of the Expedition; which was the more facilitated, upon the Estates of *Scotland* submitting their Crown to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and taking of them upon their being owned and invested King and Queen of that Kingdom, which they did by their Commissioners, who waited upon Their Majesties to that purpose, in the Banquetting-House at *White-Hall*: And the Viscount of *Dundee*, who had headed the Rebel *Highlanders*, and others in that Kingdom, being killed in a fatal Battle near *St. Johnstown*; things began to go better, and the Success of the *Scotch* Affairs gave way to a more speedy prosecuting those in *Ireland*, where the *Inniskilling-men* being abroad, pierced the Enemies Quarters, and got great Booties, defeating divers Parties, and making themselves terrible to the Enemy.

Upon News brought that *Maccarty* was in those parts with a strong Party, plundering and ravaging the Country. Lieutenant-Colonel *Berry*, with three Companies of Foot, eight Troops of Horse, and three of Dragoons, marched towards them; but upon their approach, found they were made stronger than they were reported, by another Party that had joyned them, and were much superior to him in number; which obliged him before he found himself sufficiently strong to attack them, to send to Colonel *Woolsey* at *Inniskilling*, for a Re-inforcement; which he no sooner obtained, but he charged them with
much

much bravery, killing a considerable Number, taking some Prisoners, and putting the rest to flight ; but the Flyers in their way being greatly re-inforced, rallied, and came to a second Encounter, which for a time continued bloody and doubtful, they by reason of their advantageous Post, much gauling our Horse with their Cannon ; but the Defiles, or dirty narrow Passes being resolutely passed by our Foot and Dragoons, they made themselves Masters of the Cannon, which gave our Horse the advantage to charge the Enemies Horse, who thereupon deserted the Foot and fled, and the Foot after them, a great many being killed, and some taken Prisoners, by which Defeat the Country was freed from great Incumbrances. This part of the Enemies Army that had a long time lain heavy upon it, being by this means, and in this Battle, fell of the Enemy by the Sword, and those that were drowned in desperately throwing themselves into the Lough to escape the Pursuers, about Three thousand.

There happened likewise divers other Rencontres of lesser note, wherein the Protestants for the greatest part gained the advantage.

Whilst these things were doing, the *Irish* Army, with King *James* at the head of it, marched towards *London-Derry*, promising themselves, the Terror of their Arms would oblige it to a Surrender upon the first approach ; but found they were extremely mistaken

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staken, for although Collonel *Lundy* the Governour, and the two Regiments sent from *England*, under the Collonels *Cunningham* and *Richards*, had withdrawn, and slighted it, as a place not tenable against an Army of Forty thousand Men, with a Train of Artillery and divers Mortars; Providence so ordered, it became the Bulwark of the sinking Nation, and gave the Enemy their first considerable check; for divers Troops that were abroad, mostly composed of undisciplined Soldiers throwing themselves into it, they, together with those that were found there were Regimented, even the multitude seizing the Keys, and undertaking with great alacrity to defend it, having chose Mr. *George Walker*, Minister of an adjacent Village, their Governour, and Major *Baker*, his Co-adjutor, or Assistant-Governour during the Siege. And now those in Arms in the Town consisted of 117 Companies, and every Company contained sixty Men, being in all 7020 Common Soldiers, and 341 Officers. The next thing taken in hand, was to view the Stores, and ordering their better Security from any Embezzling, as resolving to defend the place to the last extremity, having already rejected the Offers the Enemy made them, in case they would readily submit, which consisted of much promised Favour and Protection; but the hard dealings others had met with, who had put themselves into their hands, made them deaf to all Proposals, and their great Guns being mounted on the Wall, they fired upon the Advance-Guard

Guard of the Enemy, who had been promised to be received with open Arms, by *Hamilton*, and others, who undertook to bring over the besieged, which much consternated King *James*, then within the reach of their Cannon, and obliged him to remove to a place of more safety.

However, seeing fair Words and Promises could not gain it, they resolved to reduce it by force, beginning within a day or two after their appearance before it, to break ground, and run their Trenches, drawing up a Demi-culverine, within a Furlong of the Town, with which they battered the Market-House, and did some damage to other Houses ; but the Cannon from the Town playing among them, did considerable Execution ; and to hinder their nearer Approach, the Besieged sallied, and beat them out of their Trenches, killing about Two hundred Men, amongst whom was the *French General Mamow*, and others of Note, with little loss on our side, and of Note, only Lieutenant *Mac Phedris* was killed.

The Besiegers finding this way little availed them, drew four Demi-Culverine into an Orchard adjoining to the Town, and kept continual Firing ; which hurt many People in their Houses, and made some Impressions in the Walls ; nor was the damage left unrequited from the Cannon of the Town, which killed them a great many Men, and some considerable Officers, and a sudden shot took off two Fryars in their Habits, as they were
exhort

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exhorting the Besieged to press on the Siege.

And now to do their Work more effectually, they placed two Mortar-pieces, and threw in divers Bombs, which did some damage to the Houses and People, whereupon the Besieged sallied, and killed several of the Enemy at *Penburn-Hill*, losing only two of their own and eighteen wounded. The same day a Shot from the Town, broke and dismounted one of their Pieces on the Battery, and killed the Gunner, whereupon they drew a Trench a-cross *Windmil-hill*, from the Bog to the River, and there raised another Battery, lining the Hedge with Dragoons; but at the same time the Besieged sallied in a considerable number, and dividing one part, made them Masters of the Trenches and advantageous Ground, killing about Two hundred; whilst the other Party beat the Dragoons from the Hedges: which reiterated Losses so enraged the Enemy, that having Captain *Cunningham*, and Lieutenant *Douglass* upon some Sallies, they, after Quarter given, put them to the Sword, which served to confirm the Besieged in the belief of the Mercy they were to expect, if they fell into their hands and made them more obstinate in a resolute Defence: and alluring the Governour out under pretence of Treaty, they fired a hundred Shot at him; yet none of them had the power to hurt him, by reason upon their first presenting, he sheltered him behind the Ruines of an old House, and retired into the

Town

Town cautious how he trusted them any more.

The Besiegers by this time grown weary of continual Duty, and the danger they were exposed to, drew off their main Body, and encamped on a Hill about two Miles from the Town, yet left it entirely besieged.

On the Fourth of *June*, a Squadron of Volunteer Horsemen, who promised upon Oath to do great things, supported by a Detachment of Foot, made an Attacque upon the *Windmil*-work, resolving to force the Line, coming on with loud Shouts and Huzza's; but were frustrated in their Enterprize, being beat off with considerable loss, Four hundred of them were accounted to be killed; and to secure their Retreat, the Foot carried Faggots at their Backs, and those that had none, hoisted the dead Bodies, and carried them away on their Backs to dead the Shot.

On the part of the Besieged the loss was very inconsiderable, only Capt. *Butler* pressing too eagerly after the Enemy was taken Prisoner, and a few killed by a great Shot coming over the River.

These several Defeats and Disappointments of taking a place they before had thought so easie, that the *French* General upon the first view, swore he could beat down the Walls with Pot-guns, so enraged the Enemy, that they were resolved to make all the effort imaginable, and the next Night played Bombs,
some

some of them 273 pounds, which broke up the Streets, beat down several Houses, and killed divers Persons; which occasioned some Consternation, and the more, when their Stores of Provision began to fail, and Famine to encrease, so that they needs must have been disheartned, had they not been encouraged by the discovery of thirty Sail of Ships in the Lough, which were sent to their Succour from *England*, under the Command of Major-General *Kirk*, with Provision, Men, and Ammunition; but the River being chained up with a floating Boom a-cross it, and Batteries of the Enemy on the Bank, he could not only for several days get up, but had much ado to have Communication by Letter; yet the hope of Relief so near at hand, kept up the Spirits of the besieged, and encouraged them to a vigorous defence, though many died daily for want.

Monfieur de Rosen, the *French* Marshal, by this time arrived in the Enemies Camp, and understanding the little progress they had made in carrying on the Siege, fell a swearing, *By the Belly of God, he would not only demolish the Town, but bury the Besieged in their own Ruins.* But upon the Attacques he made, found no better Success than the rest: and the Lord *Clancarty*, who they said was destined by an old Prophecy to take the Town, making an Attacque, and being beat off with great loss, Lieutenant-General *Hamilton*, who had falsified his Trust to King *William*, and revolted to the Enemy, upon his being sent
from

from *England* to pacifie Matters in the beginning, came to make large Offers, but was rejected by the Besieged with Indignation; nor was *Rosen's* Promises and Threats regarded: whereupon he pitched upon a *French* Politick, imagining that would infallibly do, viz. he caused all the miserable Protestants to be gathered out of the Countries round about, and driven half naked and starved there to perish, if the Besieged refused to succour them, whose Wants, though they pierced their Hearts, having very slender Provision in the Town, they could not relieve, and therefore kept the Gates shut against them, yet firing among the Enemies Party that drove them, four or five of them fell dead with the Shot: and now there being several Prisoners in the Town, who had several Relations of Note and Command in the Enemies Camp, the Governour, and the rest, caused a Gallows to be set up in the sight of the Enemy, threatening to hang the Prisoners thereon, if those miserable People were not suffered to return to their Habitations, yet leave given them to write to their Friends, to know what they would do on their behalf: *Rosen* returned them no Answer; but *Hamilton* returned them a slight one: however, this Stratagem prevailed, and the People were permitted to return: which proved advantageous to the Garrison: for amongst them Five or Six hundred poor Starvelings were shuffled out, and some able Bodies taken in.

Another Stratagem they had to shoot Letters

ters into the Town in the dead Shell of a Bomb, viz. not filled with Powder, as imagining the Governour, and other Superiour Officers kept their Proposals from the Soldiers; but this enraged them the more, and it was made Death so much as to discourse of a surrender. About the Thirtieth of *June*, Major *Baker* died; yet the Defence continued as vigorous as ever, and divers Sallies were made, though the Garrison through Famine, Diseases and Loss was lessened near one half, and the Famine increased so fast, that Horse-flesh was sold for Eighteen-pence the Pound, and but little of that to be had: A Quarter of a Dog, that fed upon the dead *Irish*, at Five Shillings and 6 *d.* his Head at Half-a-Crown, a Cat at 4 *s.* 6 *d.* Rats, Mice, Tallow, Greaves, and all noysome things that could be possibly eaten, proportionably; so that in the whole Town there was but Nine lean Horses left, and a Pint of Meal, and a little Tallow to each Man, when Providence so ordered, whilst they were at their Devotions, News came, that Ships were making their way up the River; which to their great Joy and Comfort proved true: for Major-General *Kirk* having Notice that the Town could hold out no longer, ordered the *Mount-Joy* and *Phoenix*, and *Mount-Joy* guarded by the *Dartmouth*, to force their way at any hazard, which they did through the Showers of the Enemies Shot, and found the Boom broke; one of them however struck upon a shelve, yet the Stock of her Guns set her free again, and

and they came safe to the Town, bringing Life to a dying People : which the Enemy perceiving, thought it to no purpose of staying longer before it, least they should receive worse disgrace, but in some confusion raised their Camp, firing *Culmore*, and divers other Places in their Retreat, breaking for hast some of their great Guns ; and had a Party of the *Inniskilling-Men*, and some of the Garison upon their Rear, who cut off, or took Prisoners the Straglers, with some Booty ; the former having before defeated Lieutenant-General *Macarty*, they likewise threw about twelve Cart load of Arms into the River for want of Carriages to bear them off ; and lost before the Town in a Siege of one hundred and five Days, for so long it lasted, between 18 and 19000 Men, and among them 100 of their best Officers.

And now pardon me, Reader, for insisting so long upon this particular, which I could not slightly pass over, since (if we consider the Weakness of the Place, few of the Men that defended trained up in War, the Scarcity it endured, and the time it held out against a powerful Army, backed by almost a whole Kingdom) it may very well compare with the most famous Seige that ever was mentioned in History.

Major-General *Kirk* soon after these Succours got in, came to *London-Derry*, and was received with all the Demonstrations of Joy a People in so ruinous a Condition, could bestow ; and having viewed the Walls and Fortifica-

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rifications, blessed himself to think, that such slight Works could ever have been defended so long against such an Army.

Things in *London-Derry* being settled as well as the shortness of time would permit, it was agreed, That Mr. *Walker* should go for *England*, and present his Majesty with an Address in his own, and the Names of the principal Persons that had been in the Town during the Siege; where he was very graciously received, and his Majesty, as a Mark of his Favour, for the signal Services he had done him, ordered him 5000 Pound, and a Promise of his further Regard. Whilst this Siege lasted, the *Inniskilling-Men* and others of the Protestant Party abroad were not idle, but a Detachment of 600 Men were sent under the Command of Collonel *Stewart*, got into the Isle of *Inch*; and hearing the *Irish* had Fortified themselves in *Tully*, he sent a commanded Party of sixty Musquetiers, and beat them out, when more Forces coming to him, he and other Commanders raised some small Fortifications in the Island, and there succoured a great many Protestants who fled from the Enemy with their Cattle and Substance, and others that had been striped of all, and came naked; beating divers Parties of the *Irish* that attempted to force him from his strength; and the Duke of *Berwick* being sent this way with 1500 Horse, attempted to force *Ralsamulin*, where a small Party of our Men quartered; but having timely notice, getting to their Arms, and Barroading the Street, the Enemy,

my, after a sharp Dispute, drew off with the Loss of 240 Men ; and on our part only Lieutenant *Coningham*, and a few private Soldiers, and a Lieutenant wounded : However, very desirous to bring these Parts into Subjection, nothing was omitted that Threats or Alurements could effect ; but neither of them prevailed against the steadfast Loyalty of the Protestants ; they too sadly remembred how often they had broke their Words, and how little they esteemed keeping it with those they termed Hereticks ; one fatal Instance of which take for many :

It happened that the Lord *Galmoy* being abroad with a Party, took Captain *Dixie* Prisoner by surprize in his Father's House, which House he set on fire, and with him brought away Cornet *Charlton* : but hearing one *Brian Mac Kinghor Mac Gurrie*, a Captain of the Irish Army, had been taken by our Men, and was Prisoner at *Cran*, he sent to the Governor of the Castle, to offer Captain *Dixie* in Exchange, vowing upon his Honour, so soon as *Gurrie* came, *Dixie* should be sent them : This was well accepted, and *Gurrie* was sent, but *Galmoy* thereupon ordered the two Young Gentlemen to be tryed by a Council of War, for receiving a Commission from *England* ; and being sentenced, had orders to prepare to dye the next day, but in the mean time great Endeavours were used, and Promises made them of Life and Preferment, if they would turn Papists, and adhere to King *James*. But they generously rejected the Offer, and preferred

ferred their Religion before the saving their Lives : and although *Mac Gurrie* interceeded mainly for them, and reproached the Lord *Galmoy* with the Stain of his Honour after his solemn Promise in Writing ; yet he would hear nothing on their behalf, but caused them to be hanged upon one *Russel's* Sign-Post, whilst he made merry there ; and not content with their Lives, he ordered their Heads to be cut off, and tossed to the Souldiers to play at Foot-ball with, which when they had misused for a time, he caused to be set up on the Market-Cross at *Belturbet*.

This made, I say, the rest more cautious to trust their Mercy ; whereupon the *French* General *Rosne*, resolute to Subdue them, came within the shot of their Cannon to encourage the Souldiers that were gathering in those parts against them, but a Shot had spoiled his Undertaking, had it not fallen a little too short, yet it beat up the Stones, which wounded him in the Leg, and his Horse in the Body, and killed two Troopers, insomuch, that frightened with this Disaster, he gave over the Attempt : But greater Actions than these attended the Fate of *Ireland* ; the *English* Army so long expected was imbarqued, and came on with a fair Wind, being discovered some Leagues at Sea, by the longing People who watched for it on the Shore, and proclaimed its Arrival by their loud Shouts and Acclamations of Joy : And on the 13th of *August*, 1689, Duke *Schombergh*, who commanded the Forces, landed at *Carickfurgus* ; and after a short

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Enquiry into the State of the Kingdom, he sent two Regiments to *Belfast*; and having refreshed himself, and that part of the Army that landed with him, he directed his March to find out the Enemy, being every-where received by the Protestants with the greatest Expressions of Joy imaginable: At the Terror of whose Approach the Castle and Town of *Antrim* was deserted, and our Men took possession of it, leaving there a Garison of fifty Souldiers, under the command of Captain *Drmsby*; and many other Places and Passes were secured: But *Carickfurgus* refusing upon Summons to Surrender, a part of the Army set down before it; and the next day the Cannon and Mortars were planted against it whilst the Trenches were opened, and no sooner they heard the *English* speak to them in a Dialect of War, from the Mouths of their Cannon, but they beat a Parley; but the main Import of their Request being to send to King *James* to have his Leave to Surrender: it was rejected, and the Mortars and Cannon began to play against the Town very furiously, they answering us with their Cannon in like manner, especially anoying our Men with two Peices advantageously planted in the Lord *Dungale's* House; yet our Bombs did great Execution, beating down and setting many Houses on fire: Several of our Ships that lay in a Line, played likewise their Cannon on the other side, and no less indamaged the Besieged; whereupon they again desired a Parley, but insisting to March out with their
Cloaths

Cloaths and Baggage, the Duke would not agree to it, only allowing them to be Prisoners of War; and again the Batteries were renewed; they again hung out a White Flag to Parley, and upon submitting to a Surrender, were allowed to be conducted to the next *Irish* Garison; whereupon Sir *Henry Ingolsby* marched in with his Regiment, and took Possession of the Place.

By this time fifty Sail of Ships came up the Lough, on board which were a Regiment of Horse, and four of Foot, who joyning the Army, the General marched towards *Belfast*, and were two Miles beyond *Lisneygarny* on the 2d of *September*, which made the Enemy retreat with much Precipitation; yet they took so much time as to set divers Places on fire, whereat the General was so incensed, that he sent to tell the Commanders of those Parties, That if they desisted not from using such *French* Tricks, they must expect no Quarter, if they fell into his hands; which made them upon quitting *Dundalk* leave it entire.

The Duke finding the Plains of *Dundalk* commodious to Encamp on, and the Winter Season approaching, caused the Tents to be pitched, whilst the Enemy's Army between 40 and 50000 fortified and entrenched about *Ardee*.

Slego being still in the hands of the *English*, a Party of the Enemy consisting of about 5000 Horse and Foot, advanced that way in hopes by Force or Surprize to make themselves Masters of it: But Collonel *Lloyd*, who Com-

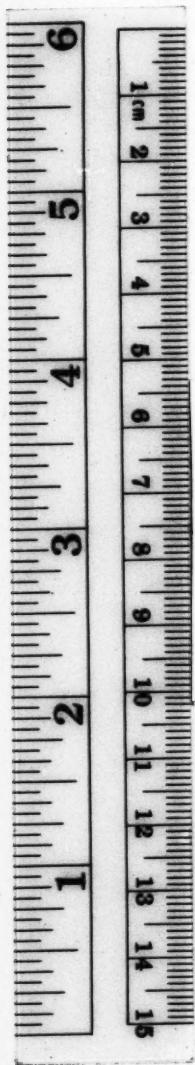
Commanded the *Inniskilling*-Men, having notice of their Design, drew out about a 1000 Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, and Lining the Hedges of the Lane of *Boyle*, where they were to pass, with his Foot, he drew up his Horse on a rising ground, and charged the Enemy so suddenly, that after a smart Engagement he put them to Flight in great Confusion; and taking a nearer way with his Horse and Dragoons, got into *Boyle* before the Enemy, and charged them again in the Front, whilst the Foot did the like in the Rear; so that 700 were cut off, and about 400 taken Prisoners, with *O Kelly* their Commander, and forty other Officers of note; and by this Rout 8000 Head of Cattle were recovered, which the Enemy in their Ravaging the Country had got together, also a great many Arms, Ammunition, and Provision; so that those Parts continued in quiet a long time after: so that the Enemy perceived their force in vain, undertook to ruin our Affairs by treacherous Policy, but they failed in that; as in all the rest, the Project was thus: It happened that four Regiments of French Protestants were raised in *England* for the Service, and amongst them divers were listed that came over just then by the way of *Holland*, which being done in hast, the Colonels had no time strictly to examine them, so that amongst these there was one *Du Plessy*, who had been formerly a Captain in *France*, and fled thence for a Murderer, but now served as a private Souldier, this Man sent to Monsieur *D'Avaux*, to let him know, That if

S3617 Short reflections upon the
present state of affairs in England.
For Jonathan Robinson, 1691. 4°.*

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SHORT
REFLECTIONS
UPON THE
Present State of Affairs
IN
ENGLAND:

More especially with Relation to the
Taxes & Contributions
Now necessary for Carrying on the
Present WAR.

Ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Jonathan Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in
St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1691.

SHORT
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UPON THE
Present State of Affairs

IN
ENGLAND:

More especially with Relation to the
Taxes & Contributions

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Present WAR.

Ornaments for the pocket, containing the

LONDON
Printed for Jacobus Robinson, at the Golden Lion, in
St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1759.

*Short Reflections upon the present State of
Affairs in England; more especially with
relation to the Taxes and Contributions
now necessary for carrying on the present
War.*

AS Man was created *Animal Sociale*, capable and desirous of Society, so the constant experience of all Ages from his Creation to this day, abundantly demonstrates not only how incapable he would be of reaping the true benefits of that Society, but likewise how exposed to the worst of Inconveniences, without due Order and Government in that State. It is Government that ties the bands of Fellowship, makes the knot fast and durable, and thereby puts us into a way of Improving the good effects thereof to the best advantage, the Happiness of Mankind being altogether inconsistent with Anarchy and Insecurity. Government therefore being a thing of that absolute necessity, as all Nations have for their own convenience submitted their Necks to the Yoke, some after one manner, and some after another, and herein seem to be guided by a common and natural instinct and consent; so is there no less a general Agreement and Harmony visible amongst them, when every particular People have been very careful, tender and provident for the due and just maintenance, support and defence of that Government, under whose auspicious and benign aspects they hoped for temporal felicity, as conceiving this inseparably bound up in that, and united thereunto. And though Ambition be a very head-strong affection, and the love of Honour and Preheminence have oft surmoulded and ruffled the Safety, Peace and Quiet, which tractable Subjects enjoy under the

the mild and gentle influence of just and prudent Rulers and Governours; yet whoever has had the fortune to prove Conquerour in these Quarrels, he has been likewise for Establishing the Government upon such Foundations, as whereby it might stand the firmest, and lie the least open to those inconveniences and troubles, which might otherwise distract and incommode their People. For which purpose, as wise and just Laws have been provided for the Security of People in their Rights and Properties at Home, to protect them from the violence and encroachments of their Neighbours and Hypocritical Friends; so standing Forces and Military Preparations likewise, to defend them against Foreign Assaults, and cover them from the unjust pretensions of Professed Enemies. In the right management of which two particulars, consists the prudence and goodness of all Princes. Now because the most Politick of Men cannot do this of himself; he being but a Man by nature, like the meanest of his Subjects; it hence follows, that his People must contribute to their own safety under him, no Prince being able to discharge his Office (in the just now mentioned particulars,) unless assisted and put into a capacity of doing so by them that expect Justice and Protection from him. For as his own hand is too weak and short to administer Justice to all his People; so much more is it so, should he be so vain as think to defend them from external Assaults and Violence. So that it hence follows likewise, the Assistance the Prince must have from his People is of two sorts; either that of their Persons and Bodies, or that of their Purses and Fortunes. The former seems equitable enough; for why should we desire Protection, Safety and Quiet, if we will not move our Hands to shield off the Blows, that are aim'd for our Ruin? But the latter is absolutely necessary; for as all are not able to help themselves, and assist Personally in their own Protection, whom yet the Prince is bound *ex Officio*, to defend and take care of; so nothing can be more reasonable, than that such as lend their Prince no Assistance that way, should yet assist in enabling him to provide such other helps and succours for them, as to his wisdom and judgment seems fit and necessary. David would have those that kept the Stuff, to be equal sharers in the dividend of the Spoils, with those that hazarded their Lives

in the Battle; the reverse of which piece of Justice is this, that they who expose their Lives for the good of those that sit still, and expose them not, should not do this for nothing, but share with them in the mean while, in all those necessities and comforts of Life, which they all by common consent desire to defend and enjoy: That thus the Prince may be enabled to secure, shelter and succour us by other hand, if he cannot, or we will not do it by our own.

Hence, and upon these considerations, have risen the large Revenues of Kings and Princes; hence Customs, Tributes, Taxes, and other Contributions, according to the various exigencies of State; viz. for the support of their Authority at Home, and the interest and security of their Subjects abroad. A Crown is no very easie wear even for the strongest Head; the cares that attend it had need be alleviated (for I cannot say ballanced) in some measure with the Honour and Plenty that is entailed upon it; which indeed (if we consider the thing well,) is but a poor, trifling, and pageant Recompence. Experience has taught the World this truth even to a demonstration, that a Prince, who appears not like himself, shall be counted by others, much less than what he is; whilst such as live Great and Majestick, strike Reverence, Terror and Awe, wherever they look; as the Grandeur of a Splendid Court at Home contributes no little to the Establishment of Obedience in Subjects, as well as Renown and Glory among Strangers; so a puissant and well appointed Army contributes no less to make both the Prince and his People formidable to all such, as perhaps would otherwise be watching Opportunities, and forming projects to molest and injure them. All are afraid of a sharp Sword, especially when they see it drawn in the Hand of one that knows how to use it.

He that reads the ancient Histories of this Kingdom, will soon find how considerable a figure the Kings of England have made in this quarter of the World. To speak in Scripture Phrase (*Exra 4. 20.*) *There have been mighty Kings over us, who have ruled in several Countries beyond the River, and Toll and Tribute and Custom was paid unto them.* Mighty and fierce Kings, who carried their Arms beyond Seas, and managed their Warlike Enterprises with Honour to themselves, and Advantage to their People;

ple; conquering and triumphing where and when they pleased. Nay they themselves fought out work for their Swords, and cut their way through the greatest opposition to foreign Trophies. Our Alliance was then courted by all our Neighbours; and happy were they, whom we vouchsafed to smile upon. But those days are long since past; and for those several Reigns it had been happy for us if we could have been quiet at home, and compos'd our intestine Differences: Our Princes of late having come so far short of the Glory of their famous Ancestors as if they had not sprung from their race. Though now and then even in the midst of our Confusions and National Quarrels the Martial Spirit has roused it self and appeared, and given some little Essays of what the *English* might do again, had they a Commander answerable to their Courage, and worthy to engage them in those Heroick attempts, by which they formerly won so many Lawrels. But yet perhaps it may seem to our Neighbours no little piece of our Happiness, that we of late have lived so quiet, had so gracious an interval from those publick Troubles that have exercised both their Valour and Patience. Our late *Civil War* indeed, let out a great deal of that Proud Blood, that might have since made us Quarrellsome and Contentious with our Neighbours; though in the mean while we eterniz'd our Infamy in the most unlucky contentions: It was without all doubt and dispute the Designs and Treachery of the Popish Party here, and their Correspondents and Abettors abroad, that drew that War upon us, and involved the Nation in Broils and Blood. Since that was ended, we have had little Fighting Work (till this last Year) but what we were put upon by such as were more our Enemies than they we fought withal. Nay we have had but too many and too visible demonstrations, that the Papists, whose interest in this Nation was intended to be weakened and crush'd by the *Civil War*, (things having gone otherwise, than they who laid the Scene foresaw,) have in reality and truth gain'd considerable ground upon us thereby; as if the Story of *Anteus* had been really true; however they have let us see the Moral of it verifed to our Cost and Sorrow. For when we thought our selves compleatly happy, even to envy, by the Restauration of the Royal Family, with our former Laws and Government, we were insensibly falling into

into the most dangerous unhappiness imaginable. For indeed so powerful was the Popish Party at Court ; so sly, subtil and treacherous to take us at all advantages, that our Peace and outward Quiet gave them but the fairer opportunities and hopes of ensnaring us into greater difficulties, and more inextricable vexations. To them we may justly and without any breach of Charity, attribute our manifold Divisions, and mutual Jealousies. *A Whisperer separateth chief Friends*, as the Wise man remarks ; and the worst of Whisperers and Makebates have those Men been amongst the Protestants ; who had never been thus irreconcilably at variance about things of so slender Moment and Consideration, had there not great Art and Policy been used to instill the Principles of Division into all Parties, and fix them into their very Natures. But we know who use *Divide & impera* for a Motto.

It is not my design to rip up the several advances the Popish Interest made under *Charles* the Second ; nor to unravel all the Villanies of that Faction under the auspicious (but unsuccessful) Influences of the Popish Successor. It is enough for my purpose to observe, that those People were in the greatest hopes imaginable of gaining every point they desired, and thus by degrees reducing the whole Nation to a greater Slavery, than ever the *Spaniards* in Eighty eight dreamed of, though those have the repute of the severest Masters in the World at least had so, before *Lewis XIV.* became the *Bontefu* of *Europe*. By right and wrong, by fair means and foul, by Flatteries and Menaces, by every method that the Devil or his eldest (I should say his most docible) Scholars the Jesuits, could invent to work upon Men's Affections, they endeavoured to decoy us to our ruin ; to decoy us (I say) and make us further our own ruin and destruction, because their strength was not to be rely'd on to deal with us, as the Catholick *French* served the Protestants. How terribly the Foundations of our Government were shaken at home, and with what Vigor those unjust Assaults upon our All have been seconded from abroad, since their Mines miscarried, and blew up without effecting what they intended for, we all are sensible enough : And how seasonable our deliverance was from those great and threatening dangers, that then almost dispirited us, all that have any sense of so precious a Mercy, (the more precious for not being consigned to us in blood) must needs

needs to the glory of God, and his praise, whom God vouchsafed to use as the Instrument therein, be perpetually acknowledged. I know some disaffected Spirits envy and malign his Majestie's Honour, and set themselves to depreciate all he has (under God) done for us, and will hardly allow the late Revolution the name of a Deliverance; of such I would only demand a solution of this short Question, Whether we are not now in a state and condition much preferable to that, wherein the late King left us at his Abdication? And whether the Nation be not in a fairer way for regaining it's former happiness and glory, than it ever was under the late King, considering the strange projects that were then on foot, and the illegal and arbitrary Methods, that were taken to effect them? I am sure no man can answer in the negative, unless he be conscious to himself, that he is one of those, that hinder the settlement of the Nation, and would rejoyce to see us enslaved to the most barbarous of *Patrons*. It is true the Nation is not yet fully settled; there are a company of disingenuous and dissatisfied Spirits amongst us, whose business it is to hinder every thing from moving as it ought to do, that moves not upon their own hinge: Men that would never be persuaded of the fatal consequences of an Irruption of Popery; nor will yet be convinced by the strongest Logic, but that it is unlawful to submit to any Government, because it was the Royal Will and Pleasure of the late King to abdicate his Office, and leave us to Anarchy and Confusion. And if the Nation, be not settled, and the Government fixed as it ought to be, the blame justly falls to those People's shares. Indeed were they only those of the Romish Profession, we should the less wonder at their Folly; but experience teaches us, that a great many who are not of the Romish Profession, are yet of that Persuasion. But the greatest wonder of all seems to be this, that a great many of those very persons, who professed so great an Abhorrence of King *James's* Measures, were always full of fears, complaints, and dismal prospects, made it their business to insinuate an *Odium* of his Arbitrary Practices into all People they came near, should now be so great Admirers of him, and so averse to submit to a Prince of their own Religion, whose study it is, and indefatigable endeavour, to reduce every thing to it's just order, that was disordered in the last Reign, and who has already made considerable progress in this great Af-
fair

fair, and might have made a much greater by this time, had some People been as Loyal, as they should be; nay had they stood to their distinguishing Character of Passive Obedience. But it is the greatest Injustice in the World to accuse our Prince for not making us as happy as we would be, when we our selves, obstruct the Methods of our own growing Felicity. It must be confessed our Deliverance is not yet so perfected, but that there remains just cause for doubts and fears: But I have oft heard it urged by Divines as good and sound Doctrin, That men must contribute to their own welfare, or else they in vain expect the Blessing of God. Were the whole Nation as unanimous and loyal, as it should be; nay were all that call themselves Protestants, so (for it is impossible to bring in the Pseudo-Catholicks) we should soon be rid of whatever now seems our greatest grievance. For what fears need *England* at Unity with it self be subject to? And as for those large Taxes and pecuniary Contributions, that at present lie so heavy on us, they would soon be at an end, when the cause ceases, that requires them. We are unhappily plunged into a War; but this, as a less evil, was to be chosen before the other mischiefs our Enemies designed us. Upon the good success of this War depends our prosperity for many years; if we miscarry and *France* prevail, we are in a fair prospect of being undone; for I question not but the whole Nation would be put under Military Execution; he that was so cruel and barbarous to Catholics, cannot spare Hereticks. But now how should we hope for good success in our foreign Attempts, unless we be ready and willing to assist his Majesty in our own defence?

The main and principal design of those Papers (though several other things are glanced and touched at) is to reconcile the Nation to those Expences, that now seem so necessary for the management of the War. People would be happy in a free Trade, in security of their Religion, in an easie and gentle Government; but yet when they see an Enemy ready to rob us of all those, nay of all that is near and dear to us, some of us are not ashamed to grudge his Majesty a little Mony to protect and defend us withal: As if the ordinary Revenues of the Crown were sufficient for so extraordinary an occasion. His Majesty is none of those, that call for unnecessary Supplies: We all see how vast a charge he has been at upon our accounts;

the Work has prospered pretty well under his hands hitherto, and we may therefore conceive good hopes, that the rest, which yet remains and is behind, will by his prudent and industrious management do so too: But yet as there is a great deal to be done before all the malicious Projects of our Enemies be overthrown, and our Security be established upon a durable foundation; so it seems unreasonable to think of carrying on so great a Work without great Disbursements. He that wishes a Tower, should first compute the Cost and Charge of building it: And to what purpose should we wish for Peace, Security and an impregnable Safety, if we will be at no charge to procure them? We might as well have suffered and been ruined at first, as only to be respite'd a while, and made to taste the sweets of a Deliverance, and then destroyed.

But because I see those Payments stick so in some People's Stomachs, I think it will be well worth the while, if we produce some particular Arguments to satisfy us in this point, and persuade those, that will listen to Reason, not only of the equitableness, but the necessity of them. And the Arguments that I shall make use of, may be drawn from such Topicks as these that follow.

I. Unless we liberally contribute towards the Expence of the present War, we can hope for no Peace, Happiness, nor Security; the carrying on the Work, as now begun, against our Enemies, being the only way (in all human prospect) to secure us against their Attempts, and settle us upon a foundation of Quiet. *France* was once an underling Nation, expos'd on all sides to those Inconveniences and dreadful Miseries, with which it now has gathered the Courage and Confidence to threaten others. Whilst subdivided into many little Principalities, and canton'd into little Dukedoms and Earldoms, the Kings had work enough at home to uphold their Majesty against so many Antagonists, as were ever and anon bearding them, and wrastring with them for the Sceptre. Long indeed it strugled with it's Fate, till Heaven was pleas'd so far to compassionate it's sufferings, as to unite the whole Nation under one head: Since which, though now and then the Throne has been shrewdly shaken by intestine Broils and Factions, yet it has never felt those horrid Convulsions of State, that before it was subject to. So that of late, what

what by the Policy of their Princes, the Industry of their Ministers of State, the Subtily and Insinuations of the People, (who were designedly scattered here and there all over *Europe*, to promote their great Master's ambitious Ends, and to be ready, when the Child was come to the Birth, to assist and help it into the World) and what by the open assistance of some of their Neighbours, (who have since been well requited for their Kindness) and the underhand Leagues and Practices of others, and the supine Negligence and stupid inadvertency of the rest ; what by those Methods (I say) and some lucky hits and propitious aspects that smiled upon the Genius of that Nation, the Power of *France* has been reckoned (and not much amiss) the most formidable in all *Europe*. Whilst our Swords were sheathed in one anothers Bowels in the late Civil Wars, and have for the most part since been worn more for ornament than use, theirs were employed in cutting out a way for their Glory in *Germany* and *Flanders* : *Mazarine*, who laid the original Projects of the present greatness of *France*, was then catechising his Pupil, and inspiring him with that Ambition, that has justly rendred him infamous and odious by those Methods he used to raise his Fame and Glory. The keeping up so many standing Forces, and thus continually exercising them in the practical part of War, has made them by long experience as compleat Souldiers (to say the least) as any in Christendom, not excepting even the *Poles* and *Germans*. *France* is a Country both populous and plenteous, affords Soldiers enough for their Kings to do what they will withal. And though it is true, the present King has much damaised his Nation, (more than ever he thought of, I believe,) by these imparalle'd Severities, or Barbarities rather, against the Protestants ; yet the Country though depopulated and desolate almost in several places, and miserable enough quite throughout, is not so exhausted, as some fancy : Witness those vast Armies on foot, and those Forces employed this last Summer both by Sea and Land against *England*, *Ireland*, *Holland*, *Germany*, *Savoy* and *Spain* ; all which Countries the proud *Sennacherib* set at defiance, and thereby shewed how little he feared that conjunction of Arms, that from every quarter threatned him. And this his confidence proceeded mostly from the consideration of his own strength, more than the weakness of his Enemies, the meanest of which was not con-

temptible. Indeed his Nation is abundantly harrassed by those unjust and unnecessary Quarrels, and has little satisfaction in those late and new Attempts; because to be sure they bear the burden for the present, and can never hope for any happy issue of those Injurious and Bloody enterprizes, in which the Christian *Turk* has now engaged all his Dependants. But yet as things now stand in *France*, I look upon the People as so desperate under the power of this Tyrant, that they are ready for any thing he can command them to. For (1st.) their Trade is to all intents and purposes quite ruined, every thing of *French* Growth and Manufacture being absolutely prohibited both in *England* and *Holland*, the greatest (and indeed the only considerable) Trading Nations in the World. Nor do I see, how that Plenty that is now at so low an Ebb there, can ever flow again to any height under this Prince, till he has cut it out some new Canale with his Sword. His Pride makes him disdain to move his Neighbours for a Peace; and should his Proud Stomach come down to do it, he would (as I guess,) only be Laugh'd at, and not much better for his Pains. For who will ever trust him, or enter into any League and Alliance with him, that knows his Perfidious Humour, and how weak the Bond of every Covenant and Oath is with him? *Lewis* 14th, being really the *Sampson*, whom nothing can hold any longer than he pleases. Instances of his Treachery and Perjury are so numerous and frequent, that all *Europe* has long rung with his Abilities in that kind, to his Honour be it spoken; so that there is no need to mention particulars. But now his People being thus reduced to extream Poverty and Misery, what will they not do in hopes of ease, and their former Plenty? If they Conquer, their Master becomes Lord of *Europe*; and if this will not give them ease, nothing will. If it be their Fortune to be overcome, they cannot be much worse than they now are; they can but fall under the power of some Arbitrary and Merciless Huff; some *Tartar* or *Canibal*, or wild *Indian*, like their present Master: In a word, they can be but what they already are, Slaves and Beggars. Nor indeed can they suffer so much from any body else, as from him; there not being (thanks be to God,) any Prince on this side of the World, of so savage and inhumane a Temper. And perhaps they may fall into the Hands of some
gentle

gentle and moderate Hero, who may treat them as Friends, and use them as Christians; and that would be an happy change for them. However things go, they need not fear falling out of the Frying-Pan into the Fire. So that though both the King and People of *France* are resolute to run the risk of bringing the Arms of all *Europe* about their Ears; yet it is evident it is upon different Principles; he out of Ambitious Malice and Vain-glorious Madnes; they out of Hopes to better their Circumstances, however squares go. (2d.) As their Trade is sunk, decayed and ruin'd, so the Estates they otherways have, are sufficiently oppress'd and squeezed for the maintenance of those unreasonable Quarrels; the Taxes and Impositions not only being very high, but they that have Plate being forced to bring it in for the King's Use. The Confiscation of the Protestants Goods, could not but amount to a vast Sum, and fill a great many Coffers; but what is got on the Devil's Back, will go away under his Belly; all is spent, and more must be had. There are no more Protestants of Estates that he can gripe and grind to get a Farthing more; the Merchants have no Trade to advance his Customs; so that the burden of all lies upon the poor Country: which renders the common People, and even those of the better sort, desperate enough, as well as miserable. Nor is there any way to save one quarter of the little that remains of their Estates, after all those Extortions and Exactions, but by giving the King the other Three, that he may push forward his business at once, and get the better, if he can, and thus ease them of those Burdens they now so lamentably groan under. Though in my opinion, they have little grounds to hope for any great good from him; (let every thing fall out as he would have it,) that has ever treated his Enemies like Dogs, and his Friends like Slaves.

All which being so, the *French* so resolute, their King having brought almost an inevitable necessity upon himself and his Subjects, of managing a War against all his Neighbours, it is impossible for us to be quiet, unless we be as resolute and forward as they. The *French* King has drawn upon us, and involved us in the same necessity of defending our selves, as himself of assaulting us. Things are grown to that pass, that *France* and *England* cannot stand long thus; indeed the happinesses

nesses seem at present inconsistent; if *Lewis* make his People happy, it must be by our Ruin; nor can we, or any of our Allies be happy, however have no Assurance of our Felicity, no Security, no lasting Peace, till that Proud and Arrogant Monarch be in some measure humbled: And this all the Confederates see and find by experience, every one for their own parts. *France* is now at its grand *Crisis*, and if it prevail over one of us, it is in so much the fairer way for serving its ends of the rest; for the plain truth is, the felicity and quiet of *Europe* depends upon the prospect of the downfall of the *French* excessive Pride and Greatness. God forbid any of the Confederate Princes should desire to destroy that Nation, or should entertain the least thought of Retaliating the Misery upon it, that their King has causlessly inflicted upon such Parts of his Neighbours Rights, as Providence, (for Reasons best known to it self,) has suffered to fall into his Hands; but yet in this, I hope they are all of a mind, that it is necessary to oppose themselves to the insolent Greatness and Pride of the *French*, and that for their common Peace; and wrest the Sword out of the Hand of such a Furioso, as can find no better employment for it, than the effusion of Christian Blood. *Lewis* 14th, has justly by his Base and Unchristian Practices, brought upon himself and his Nation the Odium of all *Europe*, and it's Curses too; all which cannot fail of bringing down something more than ordinary Vengeance at the last: And we may justly hope, the time is near, when that Curse shall take place, (*Hab.* 2. 7, 8.) *Shall they not rise up suddenly that shall bite thee, and awake that shall vex thee, and thou shalt be for Booties unto them? Because thou hast spoiled many Nations, all the remnant of the People shall spoil thee; because of Mens Blood, and for the violence of the Land, of the City, and of all that dwell therein.* And that the work may be cut short, it behoves us to assist. Our concern lies at stake; no Peace and Safety in prospect, whilst things continue as they now do; but continual Troubles and Vexations, and Charge and Molestation. *France* is an Enemy strong enough to be a Plague to all its Neighbours, (as it has been of late) till we by plain force make the *Monsieurs* feel the Sharpness of our Swords, and thus let out part of that Hot and Frantick Blood, that now make them so extravagantly insolent and unpeaceable. And as the calming the Courage of his

his most Unchristian Majesty is the best way to secure our Nation in Peace, and deliver us from the fears of all foreign Wars and Troubles; so it is likewise the only rational and feasible Method to establish the Government in itself; there being at present no Parties or Factions amongst us, Enemies to the Government, or sorry for the long wished for Union of Protestants, but such as depend upon the power of *France*. The Papists have ever by all Judicious Persons, been counted the most dangerous Faction in *England*, more especially because of their acknowledgment of a foreign Power and superiour Authority, which it is like enough they would call in to their Assistance, if they had opportunity; which foreign Power is the Pope; or rather it was he; for of late his Unholiness has lost that Malicious knack of setting Princes together by the Ears, having now adays little power to succour any; and therefore his Interest is little regarded, nor his Alliance much courted. But the foreign Power on which the Papists now depend, and have done for these several Years, is the *French*; at whose Usurpations in *Ireland*, they heartily rejoiced; and at whose coming upon our Coasts this Summer with their Fleet, they were ready to leap out of their Skins for Joy; till for their indecent Mirth and traiterous exultations, so many of them leaped out of their Houses and Liberties into the Jails, as they well deserved. These (and their Friends in Masquerade amongst us,) are the People that obstruct the desired Union, Peace, and Concord amongst us both in Church and State. And the main confidence they have of gaining by our Animosities and Differences, is grounded upon their hopes of being considerably recompensed by the *French* for their Labour and secret Service; and thus by degrees bring us into a worse than *Egyptian* Bondage and Subjection. It has been the great *Monsieur's* way, if he found any Subjects disaffected to their Government, to encourage them to Rebel and Revolt; witness his *Sicilian* and *Hungarian* Intreagues; and it were well if we had not instances of this nature nearer home. The *French* Gold has of late done far more mischief here, than the Pope's Bulls; and (I am afraid) absolved more People from their Oath of Allegiance to their present Majesties, and animated them to Treason and Rebellion. But were the power of *France* once crushed, those People would have no Crutch to lean on, under the pretence of Lame Legs,
and

and sinner Consciences; but must be forced to go upright in their Obedience to the Government, as well as we: They would leave Plotting, if they could hope for no Hands from Abroad to take their parts, and execute their Designs. Treason languishes and dies, when it wants the hopes of Power to succour and help it out. The Papists would never have plotted at Home against *Q. Elizabeth*, had they not been mightily encouraged from *Spain*; nor against *K. James I.*, had they not hoped for aid and succour from the other side of the Water. And what was it that set them on work again so lately here, but the *French* Designs and Encouragements? The best way to reduce the Papists to Loyalty and good Nature, is to cut off their commerce with our Enemies; and the way to do that effectually, is to put one Enemy out of the wicked capacity of abetting and assisting another: Thus may they both perhaps in time, become our Friends; however the band of mutual dependence being once broken, they are both more easily dealt withal. Perhaps if the Papists here were once under the so much desired and admired Government of the *French*, they would not have much fairer Quarter, than those *Germans*, who are never a whit the gentler dealt withal, for being of the *French* King's Religion; (or perhaps the true reason why they are so inhumanly abused is, because they are of some Religion, when he is of none.) Perhaps they might be rewarded as the *Messineses*, or as *Turin* and his Protestants, who kept him in the Throne against all the attempts of the Prince of *Conde* and his powerful Faction. But all is lost, that is put into a riven Dish. And I heartily wish we had all the *French* Protestants here, in lieu of our *English* Papists. But this I say, the way to secure our Peace both at Home and Abroad, is to pull down the Pride of him, that threatens us Abroad, and undermines us at Home.

And thus we see the necessity of the present War, in order to our future Peace, Quiet and Security. Now because so great a War cannot be managed to any purpose, without a great power of Men; nor those maintained without proportionable aids of Money; it hence follows, that if we desire Peace and Safety afterwards, we must subscribe and contribute for it now; and the more liberally and generously we do that now, the less shall we have to do afterwards.

II. Why

II. Why should not we be at least as ready to contribute for the carrying on so necessary a War for our own Peace and Happiness, as our Enemies (who are harrassed even to ruin almost by continual Levies and Contributions) for our Destruction? If we would have Peace, we must pay for it; and how great soever the Price of it be, we may afford to give as much for our Liberties and Properties, as the *French* to take them from us. The *French* indeed have as little reason to brag of, or pride themselves in their Master's greatness, as ever any People had, seeing it is raised upon the Ruins of his own Country. He has indeed ever (till of late) acted upon the offensive part, but surely has been the most unlucky Warriour that ever pretended to draw Sword; his Wars having been so far from bearing their own Charge, that the whole Nation is undone with contributing to their Maintenance. He never had better Armies than now, nor less to maintain them with: The Charge of continually Paying Two Hundred Thousand Soldiers and Seamen is vast, and will unbowel the biggest bellied Bags, though his Pay be not extraordinary. The Trade is sunk there; for the *English* and *Dutch* who fetched away the greatest part of their Commodities, and were the best Chapmen, by a seasonable piece of prudence have prohibited those Goods, by which he got the greatest part of his Revenues, and his People the main of their ordinary Maintenance; this was well cut off, or otherwise he might have in a great measure maintained the War against us with our own Money. And consequently, the Nation being far less Populous and Wealthy (since the expulsion of the Protestants) the load of maintaining the War must lie heavy and grievous upon those of his own Subjects that are still able to Contribute. Continual Levies, Contributions and Taxes, are no mean Grievances; yet all these are submitted to in hopes of finding their Accounts afterwards in those Disbursements. Now unless we oppose their Fury and Violence, and endeavour to repress their Insolence, what Nation in the World can we imagine will become more miserable than *England*? Can we fancy we can ever enjoy even the shadow of Felicity, if the *French* be suffered to brave us every Year, as they have done this last? And if this Braggadocio humour of theirs have put us into so many Frights, and occasioned so much disturbance amongst us, what an Hell must it be to lie at their Mercy? And yet almost the whole Country is in Arms to elevate it's Master's inglorious Name above the Clouds; no Industry is omitted, no Stratagem unattempted, no Stone left unturn'd to undo us, no Labour spared, nor Charge neither; open

Force, and private promises most diligently used; nay, the Devil himself is Conjured up, and sent amongst us, the Devil of Mammon, one that is always more successful, and can enumerate more Victories, than *Mars* or *Pallas*, having often conquered where the greatest Heroes have been soundly beaten. *Inclusam Danaen turris abenea*, &c. We are (under the Providence of God,) as safe by the Wall of the Sea, that begirds us, as if the Frier had immured us in Brazen Citadels; but yet this *French* Gold finds a way, or makes one, and flows in upon us, and subdues us; though it is probable, they that have to do with *Lewis*, and receive his Gifts, will gain as little at the long run, as they that deal with the Devil: both fawn and flatter for a while, but Destruction is the design and end. It is by some Historians observed, that *Philip* of *Macedon* got more by Bribery and Presents, than he could ever have hoped from his Sword; and in this he gave the hint, and set the Copy for *Lewis* 14, whose Pistols make no report, but yet do us more harm, than ever he can have the vanity to think all the Thunder of his heaviest Canon can do us. So that what with the expence of keeping so many Thousands of Men in Arms and continual Pay, and what with the expence of Bribing the Servants of his Enemies, and maintaining Factions and Heats amongst them, the account must needs arise to a prodigious Total. He has long (as it is supposed) been prepared for this *English* and *Dutch* War; has train'd up Seamen, and kept them in Pay for this purpose several Years; for this was the way to be served to purpose, and be really strong upon occasion: but we know he has no Fund answerable to such vast outgoings. The Spirits of Building and Missing have had large power over him; His Presents to the Grand Seigneur and his Vissers and Bassa's have been many and costly; *Teckley* too has had his share of *French* Money; all this for advancing the interest of his sworn Brother at the Port, and keeping the *Germans* low and busy. *Cardinal Furstemburg's* business cost a good round Sum, though to no purpose; and no little Treasure was spent at the last Election of the Pope, in Bribing the Conclave (though unsuccessfully) to espouse his Interest, and further his ends. I wish he had never angled in *England* with his Golden Hooks; but it is sure enough we have had plenty of them. But that which has been the greatest charge of all to him, is yet behind: The severity of his Government has occasioned so many Malecontents in his own Kingdom, and so full of suspicions and jealousies has he ever been, lest his People should struggle for Liberty from his Iron Yoke, and vindicate themselves from his Tyranny,

Tyranny, that he has been necessitated all along to keep up standing Forces in times of his greatest Peace ; (if he may be said to have ever enjoyed any Peace, whose Reign has been a continued Scene of Turmoils and Quarrels, and Rapine and Blood ;) nay, more by three parts than his Ancestors, who did the greatest exploits, ever had in their Muster Rolls in times of War. This was charge no question ; but it had been less, had he only kept them for his own security : but the Charge was unmeasurably enhanced, when he employed them abroad. No cost was spared to make his Attempts successful, nor any charge too great to secure what he had thus unjustly rifled from his Neighbours. Incredible Sums have gone to the Fortifying his new Conquests, and making his Cities and Castles impregnable ; though when he had done all he could, he was forced to abandon most of them, and throw away good Money after bad, in demolishing what he had been at so vast expence to secure. All his Treasure and Incomes being wasted in those vain and accursed Projects, in doing and undoing so much unnecessary work, he fell long ago to prey upon the Estates of his Subjects ; and rather than not be maintained in his wicked Extravagances, he flies, Vulture like, to spoil the Church. Strange ways of Spending, must have strange ways of Repairs and Supplies. So that the vast load of the maintenance of the present Wars, that inviron him on all sides, (he being a Second *Ishmael*, whose hand was against every Man, and every Mans hand against him,) must now lie upon the Country, and be supplied by way of Taxes and new Contributions. And with those the People are abundantly oppressed, being forced to gratify an Ambitious and Blood-thirsty Tyrant in his most unreasonable and extravagant Demands for the injuring and destroying his quiet and loving harmless Neighbours. If they therefore be forced to contribute so lavishly, to enable their Master to undo us ; well may we comply with the just and equitable desires of a kind and indulgent Father of his Country, when he demands those Supplies of us only for enabling him to defend and protect and cover us from the worst of all Enemies, except that Apostate Spirit of Darkneſs, who prompted this Monster of Mankind to such unpractised and inconceivable Villanies. If the *French* bestow almost their whole Estates upon their Master, in hopes to be repaid out of ours, (at New-Nevermals,) I have better hopes, we may well part with a fourth or fifth part of ours, to secure the whole, had we neither Liberty, nor Lives, nor Religion (which to a good Christian is dearer than

all besides,) to put into the Scale to make our concerns more weighty, and balance our Expences.

III. The Country has not been burdened with any Contributions of this nature this several Years, till just of late; and therefore may the more contentedly submit to them. We all know very well, that for Ten Years together, there was not one Penny laid by the Parliament upon Land by way of Assessment; the ordinary Impositions upon Goods, with the Excise upon Liquors, and the Hearth-Money, defrayed all the Charges, and supplied all the necessary occasions of the Crown; Land going Scotfree, and paid nothing. Nay his Majesty has parted with a considerable Branch of his Revenue, when he let go the Hearth-Money, which brought in Yearly so vast a Supply to the Treasury. By which generous Act he shews us, how loath he is to burden his People any further than needs must, or absolute necessity requires. But now when the necessities of the Crown call for fresh Supplies, nothing can be more reasonable, than that we should cheerfully allow them; especially having lived so easily, and with so little Charge of late. Had we indeed been harrassed and oppressed for the last Ten Years, as the *French* have been, we should have more colour and reason to grudge the large Supplies that are now called for; but yet Necessity has no Law, and we should still be forced either to give them, or fare worse for our Refusal. But now having been spared so long, we have little reason to complain or murmur, though the present Contributions lie something heavy upon us. I know leisurely Payments are commonly accounted less burdensome, though much larger, than those that we are forced to contribute to once or twice for all: But yet as I think there never was (however in this last Age) more occasion for speedy and plentiful Contributions, so all things considered, and this especially, that we have been at little or no Charge this great while upon those accounts, we ought both patiently and gladly for our own convenience to joyn in them, and submit to them. The Landlord that hath pursed so much of late, may very well disburse a little more than ordinary upon so extraordinary an occasion, where their All lies at stake; and the niggardly Supplies some would allow, are only like to continue (and so in a small while enhance and augment) the Charge, rather than alleviate or abate it. It is commonly supposed upon Computation, that King *Charles* the Second had between the Years Sixty and Eighty, as much

much Money granted and paid, as all *England* is worth; the Taxes were almost continual, one treading upon the heels of another; and yet few repined at all this, though the Money did us as much good as if we had thrown it into the Sea: Why then should it be thought so extraordinary a matter, for the half of one years Revenue and Income to be paid in two or three years; especially when the Occasions are so importunate and pressing? I know indeed some Families may be in so ill and low circumstances, that they will be sore strained and ill able to part with so much in so short a time; it is confessed the burden will lie heavy upon middle Fortunes; but I question not, but such have made a considerable advantage of the late ease and respite they have had; and therefore it is no Injustice to desire them to refund part of their former Profit at this extraordinary juncture.

IV. Especially considering, though the liberal Supplies, which are now so absolutely necessary may for the present seem grievous and burdensome; yet the success and amendment of our Trade, as well as our Peace and Security, depending upon this War, not to give them, would shew us uncharitable and wanting to our selves and our own good; and the ready granting them will (in all probability) advance us so much the more e're long; we shall find within a while find our Accounts sufficiently in those disbursements. It is true Liberality, as well as Frugality, never to spend what may be honestly and safely spared, nor spare what ought to be freely and generously spent. We are now engaged in an expensive War, which has been gradually approaching us this many and many a year. The *French* have made long preparation for it, because they designed it; and that is the reason they are now so well able to manage it. Our Princes were desirous to keep us in ignorance of this, to cover this intended blow from us, and hoodwink us, or lull us asleep in a supine Security, that we should not perceive it, till it should come; I do not say they abetted the mischief that was intended us. And this makes the Nation so unprepared to receive the Assaults, that are now made upon us by the ravenous Ambition of our potent Enemies. But yet (thanks be to God) it is not too late for us to prepare; Nay the short warning we have had, has given them a pretty Essay of what treatment they might have expected for their perfidious dealings with us, had we but had a little more notice of their designs. They have (for all their Bravadoes) little reason to boast of their exploits this Summer; and I hope

hope will have good reason to repent of their malicious Adventures before the next be half over. Some mischief they have done us, but not the tithe of what the Frenchified *Jacobins* (in order to dishearten the Country, and make People averse to new Contributions,) would persuade us. But the advances we have made this year under his sacred Majesty's happy Conduct have been very considerable and remarkable. But yet as long as *France* continues an Enemy, and so potent an one as it now is, we can never hope for a free Trade, no more than we can be assured of a stable Peace or Security ; and yet unless we have a free Trade and be secure, I cannot see how the bad and dead Times we so complain of, should ever amend or revive, or the Country rise to it's former Wealth and Interest. At present things are but in a dubious posture, and it is some Peoples Master-piece of wicked Policy and Ingenuity to infuse worse Thoughts and Conceptions of them into their Neighbours, than are consistent with the happiness we already enjoy, and the glimps of that greater Felicity, we hope to be Masters of within a while under his present Majesty. But the truth is, we have been so long under the influence and ascendent of that Tyrant, who has justly obtained the Name of the great Troubler of the World, and is now unjustly our professed and declared Enemy, that though we are in part delivered and emancipated, yet we scarce know whether we are or no ; and there are a party of *Job's* Comforters amongst us, that would discourage us, and make us believe we are as deep in the mire as ever ; and this they do to obstruct and impede our proceedings, and hinder us from asserting the *English* Liberties to that height, that moved his present Majesty to undertake our cause and expose his sacred Person to so many dangers in our just quarrel. But the only way to make us happy, as we are a Nation, must be for us to joyn unanimously and courageously with our Head in making our way to that Trade and Security by the Sword, which we formerly had without it. *Lewis XIV* has now forced us to draw it, and he will force us to keep it drawn as long as he pleases, unless we can wrest his out of his Hand. We may thank him for the Expences we have been at of late ; and the only way to put an end to them, is to push home our business at once, and go through-stitch with our Work. If we linger and hang back, we both discourage and affright our selves, and he too gains an opportunity to undo us : for the World has had little experience yet (though it has known him above this fifty years) of any great Clemency or Mercy he hath had, when

it. has been within the sweep of his venomous tail to do mischief. We must hope for no peace nor safety, as long he bustles and swaggers and hectors in *Europe* at this rate. *Attila* the great and furious King of the *Huns* was by many entitled the Rod and Scourge of God for the barbarous severities he used in *Italy* and elsewhere; but how small a Rod was he in comparison of *Lewis XIV*? Who may not so properly be called a Rod or Scourge, as a Scorpion. But when God has done with those Instruments, wherewith he chastises others, he usually throws them in the Fire. And we hope therefore this fury has almost done his worst, and must within awhile be afflicted himself for furthering and taking delight in the Afflictions and Pressures of his Neighbours. Our only confidence (next to the Mercy of God) of future quiet, and the other happinesses that are attendants thereon, springs and arises from this prospect, that if we exert our Forces against him and shew our selves men, as we may and ought, we shall be able to win and ravish it from him, whether he will or no. It is a lazy temper for Men to wish and would, that which they will be at no charge to obtain. The only way of lessening and shortning the charge of the War, is for us to put his Majesty into a Capacity of righting us and our Cause against him that is the aggressor, and making a good end of it, as soon as he can. Peace and Security are the Nurseries of Plenty, Wealth and Honour; but an obstruction of Trade as naturally impoverishes a Nation, as an Atrophy leads to a Pthisis. And therefore though we may be forced to buy our Peace and Security at such a rate, as seems now dear and high, yet when we come to have our ends served by it, we shall find and see the reimbursements will make an ample amends, and pay us the best interest for our money. I know not what any Man can propose to himself, that would have the *French* to domineer over us and abuse us, as they have done of late; unless he would have us imitate the *Genoese*, who for defending themselves from the unjust Arms of his most Unchristian Majesty, were forced to submit, and trot to *Paris* and beg the Devil's pardon for being in the right and resisting wrong. If we are so enamoured of the *French* Yoke, why do we not let him in at once, and thus see if we can oblige him to Friendship? If we have a mind to be Slaves and Vassals and to try whether he will make us such or no; let us declare for him, and do him some Service that may merit our acceptance, and admit us to that honour. But I am afraid the most of us know him too well to trust him any longer than we need care whether we trust him or no. It is an ordinary saying among

mong the Turks as well as Papists, *That Faith is not to be kept with Hereticks or People of another Profession* : But we all know that the Blade of whom we are speaking so far scorns to be a Slave to his Word, that he keeps his Word and Faith with no body, no not with those of his own Profession. But if we really detest and abhor the rigorous and merciless Severities, the oppression and inexcusable Tyranny, with which he studies to wear out the patience of his own People ; let us shew our Detestation and Abhorrence by a stout vindicating our selves from that yoke he is bringing on our Necks : Let us shew our selves Englishmen, such as have a sense of their Liberties, and Properties and Honours, such as used to triumph o're *France*, and not to truckle to it. (1 Sam. 4. 9.) *Be strong and quit your selves like Men, O ye English, that ye be not Servants to the French, as they have been to you ; quit your selves like men and fight.* Never let it be said, that we were too covetous, and would not buy the Peace and security of an Age for half a years purchase, but slipt our market till the price rose, and ten times as much would not acquire it. (Prov. 10. 4.) *He becometh poor that dealeth with a slack hand.* If we loiter and divide our supplies, we perhaps shall not only encrease the charge, but when the Kingdom is lower, and our stock far worse exhausted, than it can be by those Payments, be just where we were, if not worse. (Prov. 11. 24.) *There is that scattereth and yet increaseth ; and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to Poverty.* No People in the World now adays more happy than the *Dutch*, who in an odd end of the World and sunken Country between two of the worst Enemies in Nature, the Sea and the King of *France*, are grown rich to Admiration and Envy ; and yet who are (or indeed can be) subject to more Impositions and Exactions than they ? Nevertheless they are opulent and plenteous in their Fortunes, and indeed keep the Cash of *Europe*. It is a foolish as well as a sordid saving, that occasions a larger effusion afterwards : Like those Monks, that for want of one Groat in paying a Fine to the King, were forced to pay several Hundred of Marks afterwards ; and right enough served they were. If we open not our Purses now, I wish it be not too late to open them when we would, and would compound for our safety with a greater sum. There is a critical opportunity for every thing ; and our time for making *England* happy or miserable for several Generations seems to be now ; it is in vain to save and spare what will (and must) have a going sooner or later ; and we may much better lay out our Money for our own Peace and Security

ty to purchase our Safety withal, than be forced to compound with our Enemies for it ; who if ever they have us at advantage will look so big upon the point, that all the Wealth within the four Seas will be too mean a Present to ransom our Liberties and Religion withal : The King of *France's* little Finger being thicker than the Loins of any Prince that ever wielded the *English* Scepter since *William the Conqueror*, to this present day. I can never reflect upon King *John's* base and impious offer of this Kingdom to *Miramulim*, but with the greatest Horror and Indignation imaginable. Nor can we fall into the hands of *Lewis XIV.* without as dreadful consequences ; no Turk using his vilest Slaves worse than he does his loyal Subjects. And therefore (in my opinion) it stands us in hand to keep out of his clutches, if we can ; and if a large Assessment or two will do it, he deserves a worse Master (and there is but one worse, and he not on this side Hell neither) that refuses. We know what vast sums some of our Kings in the days of yore have got from their Subjects for nothing. When *Henry 2d.* died, he left a Treasure of nine hundred thousand pound to his Son ; a vast sum for those times, and worth five or six millions of our Money at the lowest reckoning. Which Lion-hearted Son of his (*Richard 1st*) not only spent all that, but when he was taken Prisoner in his return from the Holy War, (as was then called) was forced to compound with the Emperor and the Duke of *Austria* for his Liberty at the rate of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks ; which Ransom was exacted of the Country ; and though it were a prodigious Sum, those days considered, yet the People little murmured at it, though that Prince was none of the best, nor his Government the most easie. Nay afterwards, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who was his Treasurer or Collector, made it appear upon account, that within the term of two years he had levied of the Kingdom for the Kings use eleven hundred thousand Marks ; an incredible Sum, considering the shortness of the time, the King's Ransom being paid but just before. And yet all these vast Sums with several others (and the total of his own Annual Revenues) were consumed in ten years time ; the Kingdom after so vast an effusion of Coin not being any way in the least one single farthing advantaged ; nor indeed being from the very first in any prospect of being so. What ought we not to give for the Security and Peace of the whole Kingdom ? The People then made large Contributions, because it was the King's Mind and Humor to go a gascomading in the Popes quarrels ; King *William* requires those Contributions of us, because

he has a mind to protect and defend his own Kingdoms, now endanger'd by a Popish Faction, and an Atheistical Tyrant, from the insolent Assaults of all that would disturb our peace and quiet. The causes compared, I think we have at least as good reason to contribute as they had.

V. We have all the Security his Majesty can possibly give us, that our Mony shall be truly and faithfully employed to those necessary uses, for which it is given, and no other. In supplying his necessities we serve and supply our own, because he manageth no separate Interest from the Country, as some of our Princes have done. Mony is the Sinews of War; but his present Majesty has no occasions to spend our Mony and thus enervate the Country; he has none of those vain ways to waste what we give him, that have made some Princes that we know of, poor. He has no Pensioners nor Sycophants; no Parasites nor Flatterers; no She-Leeches, no Children to raise to Honors and Estates at our cost. It is well enough known, that before his Majesty accepted of this Crown, he was one of the richest Princes in *Europe*, and could have disbursed more Mony of his own than he that commands the *Indies*. But all this for our good is quite exhausted. He came to an empty Exchequer, and a poor Crown, which is the most uneasy wear in the World. Father *Père* and his Brethren took care of our Mony, whatever they did of our Souls; the one was sooner converted to their use, than the other to their Religion; and consequently a better prize with them. Nor must we think, that the little Mony we have given has born the charge of the War: His Majesty has spent all he had amongst us, and desires not to be reimbursed, because he has no occasion for Mony, but what is common to him and his People. Now we know how the Mony, that he has already had of us is disposed of. His Majesty disdains not to condescend below his own Honour and Grandeur to give a just and perfect account to his Subjects how he has ordered it. The Accounts were made up and laid before the honourable House of Commons for the plenary satisfaction of the whole World in this particular. What we give his Majesty, he bestows at the best hand in providing for our defence, not for his own pleasure or humor: He is none of those that are bewitched with the Charms of an opulent Fortune, or dazzled with the Lustre of a Crown, and thereupon fall to Luxury and glorious Ease, and progress their Kingdoms round for an expensive Recreation. He delights not in stately and sumptuous Palaces, nor consumes his Revenues in erecting or adorn-

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ing such. He has none of those State Tools, that were so largely bribed of late for secret Service; for why? he can have his business done by better Instruments and more honourable Hands. He has none of those costly Monsieurs or Mademoisels about him that some have had, to pick his Pockets and run away with half a Subsidy. Effeminacy, Luxury and Gallantry (the *summum bonum* of some Princes) are the least part of his concern; no Prince in the World of his rank bestowing less of his Time or Coin that way; and therefore we find he loves the Camp better than the Theatre, and encourages Soldiers more than Players. He is none of those Popish Bigots, to maintain a conscienceless Crew of hungerstarved Sacrificers, till himself fall a Sacrifice to their Guile and Malice. No, no; our Mony (thanks be to God) is better employed now, and to wiser purposes. And for Officers, that are employed in the receiving and husbanding and expending his Treasure, to his Honor be it spoken, who has made so prudent a choice, and to their Credit and Praise be it spoken too, who are so faithful to their Trust; no Prince was ever furnished with a stock of honesty. The greater still is our Security, that our Contributions shall not be embezzled and squandered away to no purpose, but the raising a few private Families; but be laid out to the best ends, such as may contribute to our Honour, Peace, Safety and perpetual Security. When Henry 8. came to the Crown, he found in ready Cash at least eighteen hundred thousand pounds; which (according to the rate that Mony then went at, and even as it goes now) was a large and Royal Sum; this the Avarice of his Father scraped together (*vitiis & modis*) to set up his Son for a Prodigal; who indeed threw it so lavishly about him, that in three years he was almost ready to shut up Shop for a Bankrupt. Such was his Bounty and Magnificence in times of Peace; for the French War was not yet begun; and when it did begin, he was to begin to gather Mony to maintain and carry it on. So extravagant are some People of that which comes of a free cost; Princes often employing their thoughts how to spend their Subjects Estates, rather than how to husband and lay out their Mony to any purpose, or for their Profit. But his present Majesty as he came to a poor Crown, so he well and providently (as appears by all the management of his Affairs) considers the good of his People, not desiring to spend a farthing of ours to any other purpose, than as it may in some measure or other turn to account for our real benefit: He well knows and considers the hardness of the times and the general decay of Trade; and thereupon (as it is evident upon

a great many occasions and in several Instances) endeavours to put every thing to the furthest, and go the cheapest way to work to secure us; it being no part of his Design to make us pay more for our Peace and Quiet, than it is worth; but only to be enabled to execute that weighty Office, and discharge that Trust as he ought to do, for which he ascended the *English* Throne. He manages his Wars himself in Person, exposing himself to Fire and Sword, as well as the meanest Centinel, not desiring that the vilest Soldier in his Pay should venture further than himself dare lead on. He gives Order for every thing himself, which is still the best and cheapest way to have his work done as it should be. He pushes the War forwards with the greatest Expedition that is consistent with our safety, and a security from making false Steps. In a word, he doth all that can be done by Man, towards the making us Happy again, though it was none of his fault that we were involved in so much misery. And thus he seeks to engage our Love, and tie our Affections to him by the strongest Bonds of Allegiance and Gratitude.

VI. We have no reason to complain of paying for our Peace and Security now, seeing two or three Years ago, we were ready and willing to have given a great deal more for it, than is now desired of us for the establishing of it. When King *James* and his wicked Instruments were in the height of their Majestick Tyranny, Seizing on part of our Liberties and Properties, and threatening a formidable Invasion on the rest, what would we have given, nay, what would we not have given, to have been delivered from those fears and dreadful apprehensions, that were at every turn ready to overwhelm us? Thus when the great Gulf expanded its horrible jaws in the midst of the *Forum* at *Rome*, and the People were admonished to throw in whatsoever was the most precious to them; then was many a Golden Bag sacrificed, and many a Rich Jewel thrown quite away: But yet all would not do, there was still something more dear and precious than all those trifles, and that was it the Devil would have been at; *viz.* their precious and sweet Lives: And so the audacious Knight, who gave himself for his Countries good, plainly interpreted his meaning. This is but too applicable to the matter in hand; for if *Mony* would have contented the Jesuitical Harpies, and have bribed them to let us be quiet, no Charge would have been judged too heavy to have procured and established our Security. And shall we now despise our Peace, be-
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cause it is so cheap, though miraculous? Do we grudge to disburse a little Money for confirming our Protection? It was generally believed long ago, by the most judicious of Men, that *Ireland* would never be reduced, or recovered out of the Papists Hands without Blows; the courses that were then taken there to secure them of the Government, gave but too just reason for that opinion: And yet unless it were reduced, all People could easily conjecture what a Thorn it would prove in our Sides, and how much Disturbance might from thence upon any occasion be given us. So that had the business of the Prince of *Wales* never come upon the Stage, nor been thought of, but King *James* had died quietly in his Bed, and left the Princes that now more deservedly fill his Throne, to have ascended thither by the common course of Succession, yet it was easily foreseen, *Ireland* would never have owned their Authority without compulsion. We know full well, how upon some other occasions, that obstinate and tumultuous People have oft endeavoured to shake off the *English* Yoke, though it has never galled them, nor were they ever before sensible of that Happiness that has waited upon them under our Government. Nay, we know they have several times attempted to surrender the Country to any Body that they thought Enemy enough to us, and seemed in the least inclined to accept of their offers. And the like attempt was not now unjustly feared and suspected; more especially since that Island became a Nest to such disaffected Persons, as have under the mildest Protestant Government here, still been shewing their Popish tricks, Plotting and Contriving Mischief, and so oft near the accomplishing their base Designs. When the Native *Irish*, who have treated the *English* as oft as they had opportunity, with all the Treacherous Cruelty and Barbarism, to which Hell and *Rome* could improve their innate Blood-thirsty Humour; when these (I say) were advanced to Honour and Dignity, and made to domineer over those whom they watched but a convenient opportunity to extirpate, and all this by the Authority of their Prince; and when they were encouraged, backed, seconded and prompted on to their Bloody and Rebellious Intrigues by the *English* Papists, a rascally Crew of whom flocked thither, and rested there in hopes of Prey and Mischief, to be made Rich with the spoils of some meritorious Massacre; and all this Insolence not only connived at, but countenanced and abetted and authorized, by such as only had power to Repress it: What could be thought of such prodigious and monstrous Methods and Practices, or what could they be judged to portend, (for every

every Body thought them unnatural and ominous;) but a general Revolt from us; especially the *French* being so able and ready to assist them, as they have since done? And yet nothing could have been of more dangerous and pernicious consequence to our Peace and Safety here (bating only the *French* irruptions upon us, so dreaded in the last Reign,) than to have that Kingdom dismembered from this. So that whatever Protestant Prince had succeeded to this Crown, and by whatsoever Title, it had in effect been the same thing; for an *Irish* War was as inevitable, as the Protestant and Popish Interests are discordant and unagreeable; and the charge we should have been at upon the account of reducing it, could hardly possibly have been avoided. Nay, it is more than a little probable, our Charge might then have been much more heavy, than now it is like to be; his Majesty (whom God preserve for more and more, eminent Victories of this kind) having taken all imaginable care, (though at the utmost peril of his Royal and Sacred Person,) to cut the work as short, and give as ready a conclusion to those Wars, (and the concomitant charge,) as could possibly have been expected from any Prince in the World, that had the parallel Inconveniences and Hazards to encounter and force his way through. This by the by; though this Digression is far from being impertinent to the matter in hand. But yet considering *England* as a Nation unconcerned for its dependencies, but only regarding and providing for its own Peace and Quiet at Home, they that reflect upon the fears and dangers that of late shewed themselves in so menacing a shape amongst us, I little question but they would have been ready to have compounded with *France* and *Italy* for the security and continuance of our Religion and Laws, and have paid a considerable Ransom to relieve them from the Jaws of that Destruction that was formed for them, if Mony would have done the feat: But I never heard of any Insurance Office that was set up upon this account. One of the three Estates of this Realm was in a fair prospect of being crushed to nothing by the dead weight of an Arbitrary Power: Part of the Clergy was Suspended, and the rest every day looked for the same treatment, for not complying with the King in a thing so unconscionable and illegal, as no Power could have imposed upon them, but such an one, as pretended and arrogated to be *Obedied without Reserve*. But had the whole Clergy complied as readily, as some out of Ignorance, and some from other Principles did, it is a vain thought to fancy things would have stopped there; greater and larger lengths were to be gone, than were

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consistent with the being of Protestantism ; and the complying with one illegal method and practice, would but have animated our Enemies to have pricked us forward upon something that should have been worse. If like Asses we had patiently suffered that Load to have settled to our Backs without grudging, more should presently have been laid on us, and more still (as long as we were for Passive or Active Obedience) because it was resolved our Backs should be broken, and if one thing would not do it, another should ; one oppression here being but the unhappy Prodromus of another and greater ; though perhaps we could not then have been so easily extricated out of those perplexities and difficulties, (if things had gone much further) as now we are ; I mean neither with that safety of Honour nor Conscience. For it is evident beyond denial or dispute, that the utter ruin of the Church of *England*, as then by Law established, nay and the ruin of the whole Protestant Name and Interest amongst us, (though the Dissenters were prettily chucked under the Chin, and caressed with a flattering Indulgence,) was absolutely resolved on and determined. Only because the Projects were not yet ripe for booted Apostles and the *French* fashion of Conversion, therefore every thing was tried, that might make one Party subservient to the undermining and overthrowing another ; that being thus weakened and dispirited by mutual animosities, and irreconcilable Divisions, the Conquest over us all might be the more quick and feasible. This was so plain, that every man of common and ordinary sense, saw to the bottom of the grand design ; and accordingly their fears were neither mean nor panick : Every one sighed and murmured in private for the impending ruin. For when one of the Three Estates was thus run down, as it almost was, (saved only by Miracle, and as a Firebrand plucked out of the Burning,) what could the other two expect, but in time to be shams of the same fate and misery ? *Jam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.* Every one was concerned ; and even those, who in their Hearts bore no good will to the Church of *England*, could not yet dissemble their affrightments and horror, when they saw her thus used and trampled on ; because they knew full well (without the Spirit of Prophecy,) that the same fate would within a while overtake them too : The Jesuits being their Friends (or bearing the Vizard of being such) only to serve a turn, but inwardly the most rancorous and malignant Enemies in the World ; such Enemies, as make no distinction between Foes and Friends, that will not lend their utmost assistance to promote their rapacious and ambitious ends. The whole Nation then
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lying under such dreadful, but just apprehensions of Misery, all Mens Minds being shaken with so horrid a prospect of the prevailing of Popery and Arbitrary Power, no Body would have refused to have complied in the largest Contributions to secure us. But no Security was to be dreamed of, or hoped for, till his present Majesty appeared for our Deliverance; and by the miraculous guidance of a Merciful and gracious Providence turn'd all those fears upon their heads, that first devised them. But since Almighty God has raised us up so great a Deliverer, we have all the assurance imaginable of enjoying without trouble or disturbance whatever we were before in almost hourly fears of being Robb'd and Spoil'd of by Catholick Ruffians. We know full well, how ready and inclined his Majesty is to establish our Liberties and Properties, as well as Religion by any Law, that can be proposed to him for that purpose; our experience tells us this, by what he has done for us already: And his own sentiments and judgment in matters of Conscience, assure us he can never entertain the least thought of betraying us into the hands of the Enemies to Protestantism; nay, we are sufficiently convinced, that he will never attempt the least alteration in those little things, which are now established by Law (though those have been the unhappy occasions of dividing us, and both blemishing the report of our Prudence, and hindering our real Interest,) without our Consents, and the concurrence of our Representatives. And as for invading any Mans property, we have less reason to be afraid of that; the Laws being now returned to their pristine force and vigour under him, against all such as by pretence of any Commission or Authority whatsoever, commit the least injury. And though I have often thought, and am fully perswaded in my Conscience, that if an Arbitrary Power be allowable and justifiable in any case (as all confess it is now and then in some few and extraordinary contingencies, where the Laws have not made sufficient provision,) it may be just and rational in this, that the Prince should compel those People to contribute towards their own safety, who will not willingly understand they are in danger, or that their Purses ought to be opened for their Security; yet here, (as in all other cases) in the greatest exigency of State, his Majesty by his legal Methods, declares his abhorrence of ever using a Power, which may so easily be abused and degenerate into Violence or Oppression, or become an ill president to future Ages: He is no Invader of any Man's Right upon any occasion whatsoever; no, not when he has the most plausible pretence for so doing. Nay we see how willing he is rather

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to recede from his own Rights, than make the least encroachment upon ours. He uses none of those odd rapacious Artifices to get Money, that some of our Princes have extorted large Sums from their Subjects by; he oppresses no Man, but desires our Aid in a Legal and Parliamentary way, the fairest and equitablist of all. He has no *Empsons* nor *Dudleys*, no Instruments of Rapine and Extortion to play the Spies upon his Loyal Subjects, and hook them to compositions for their Peace, before they break it. He desires to be no Richer, than so that he may be able to Protect us; and his not using any Illegal Methods, evidences his intire dependance and reliance on the love and generosity of his People; who if they have any of that reciprocal kindness which they ought to have, will never let him fare worse for so doing, but will readily consent to furnish him with all the Supplies he requests of us. So that upon the whole, being thus rescued and delivered from all those Fears and Troubles, that of late surrounded and were ready to overwhelm us, and for the removal of which we would gladly have Contributed much more, than will now do his Majesties business and the Nations, we may reasonably enough straiten our selves a little for the establishment of our Safety and Deliverance. His Majesty having spent so considerable a Sum of his own, to advance the work of our Happiness thus far, all the World would cry shame of us should we now grudge at the charge of Perfecting and Compleating the great Work, upon so fair and solid a Foundation.

For these and the like Reasons, it seems to me very just and equitable, that we should willingly submit to pay our shares of all those Contributions and necessary Expenses, to which our Representatives at *Westminster* have agreed, or shall hereafter consent, and that without Murmuring or Repining; not Grudgingly or of Necessity (as the Apostle speaks in a case not much different,) for God loves a Cheerful Giver. As God has made it the Princes duty to use his utmost endeavour to preserve the Peace and Welfare of the Nation committed to his Charge and Trust; so has he made it the Peoples bounden duty likewise to assist their Prince with their Lives and Fortunes, when ever a publick necessity and exigence calls for them. For this cause we are to pay Tribute also, because the Prince is Gods Minister, attending continually on this very thing, viz. the conservation of Peace and Quiet, a thing of inestimable worth and value; and that no such can hardly be ever dear bought, with all we can expend to obtain it. And therefore we must render to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due,

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Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour. Our Saviour upon the first sight of the Image and Super-
 scription upon *Cæsar's* Penny, determined and resolved in favour of
 the Prince, that he was to have his Dues as well as God Almighty;
 intimating likewise in that Divine Answer of his, that Tribute is
 a due to those Higher Powers, to whose Charge and Care Providence
 has committed us; and that we ought in all reason to contribute to-
 ward the Support and Maintenance of that Government and Au-
 thority (of what sort soever it be) by which we are protected in our
 own Dues and Rights, and maintained in Peace, and guided in Justice.

These considerations well weighed, and impartially reflected on,
 will, I have good hopes, do something towards reconciling those
 Peoples Minds, that now seem so disaffected to the present Taxes
 and Payments, which indeed are as absolutely necessary, as Peace
 and Tranquility are lovely and desirable. It is too great a presump-
 tion upon that Providence, that has already been so kind and gracious
 to us, far beyond our Deserts, and almost as far beyond our expecta-
 tions, to think every thing shall fall out according to our Wishes
 and Desires, without laying our selves out to obtain what we esteem
 our Happiness. Though Almighty God appeared in a wonderful
 manner to bring his own Chosen People out of the Iron Furnace of
Egyptian Servitude and Bondage, and infatuated all the Counsels,
 and disappointed all the Designs of their Merciless Oppressors, and
 all this in order to bring them to the Land flowing with Milk and
 Honey, according to his promise to their Fathers; yet when they
 were delivered, it was his pleasure to let them find their way thither
 on their own Feet; nor could they justly expect ever to arrive there,
 without several Conflicts and Hazards: For by those it was his de-
 sign in some measure to make a Trial of them, and see how they
 would carry themselves, and whether by their Faith, Patience and
 Endeavours, they would in any tolerable measure approve them-
 selves worthy of so great an act of Mercy and Misericence, as he
 was going to bless them withal. And accordingly we find, that the
 sluggish, morose, querulous part of them by their infidelity, impa-
 tience and perverseness, forfeited their shares of Inheritance in the
 Promised Land; their Carcases fell in the Wilderness, between *E-*
gypt and *Canaan*; it was a mercy God suffered them not to return
 to the snaring Idolatry and Superstition of the former, and a
 sore Judgment (though just enough) that he would never suffer
 them to taste the sweet and ravishing contentments of the latter:
 But yet after all this, their Children, whom they feared and com-
 plained

plained should become Preys and Miserable, were brought in; and upon them did God bestow the Mercies, which the Parents made themselves unworthy of. The only way for us to prevent the like miscarriage, is to be wise in time; for the plain truth is, as far as our circumstances concur with the *Israelites*, we may (without running the risk of being counted false Prophets or Boders of Ill News,) make a just estimate of our future Felicity or Misfortunes. An opportunity is now put into our Hands, of raising the fortune of our Nation to a greater pitch than it has been at for some Ages; and though the affairs of all *Europe* are strangely embroiled and perplexed at this juncture, yet an impartial Observer of things and circumstances, shall find nothing amongst all those, that ought to discourage or affright us; every thing almost (on the other hand) conspiring (by the special conduct of the supreme Orderer of all things no doubt) to favour our designs and interest, and draw us good out of evil: Only if we be not wanting to our selves and our own cause, and suffer our selves to be more swayed and byassed by groundless Fears and Jealousies (hatched on purpose by our Enemies, and nourished and disseminated by false Friends and with design to keep us in a discomposed and discontented posture) than guided by Reason and the due consideration of our own true and real interest. If we take not Time by the Forelock, we shall repent too late when he shews us the hinder and bald part of his Skull. Wealth, Wit, Courage and Strength are ordinarily reckon'd up as the four great Champions, without whose Assistance no War can be prosperous or successful. We are now under the guidance of a Prince, who has abundantly signalized himself for the second and third of these; and the fourth is at our Command by the mediation of the first. So that if we miscarry, as we have none to lay the blame on but our selves, so it will be found in the issue our own shoulders will be too little and weak to bear it; for we shall not only involve our selves in greater and more deplorable difficulties than before we stuck in, but shall become the unhappy Instruments of involving our Neighbours and Allies in the same Miseries: who deserve them so much the less than we, as they are more ready and courageous and free to oppose them.

Throughout the tenor of this whole Discourse I am every foot falling back to harp upon the same string, and inculcate the same Advice, about contributing freely and assisting his Majesty with such pecuniary Auxiliaries, as may enable him to do our business at once and to purpose. Whence some perhaps will take occasion to demand of me, how and after what manner so great Sums, as I hint are necessary, must be raised and gathered? After what manner I would have the Contributions to proceed, and upon whom I would have the greatest burden of

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them to lie? But the truth is, it was not my design, when I first put pen to paper, to meddle with that point, or to make any Proposals of that nature: and that left thereby I should seem to intrude where I have nothing to do, and prescribe to those, whom the whole World will (when I have done what I can) acknowledge more fit to give than take Directions of this kind. His Majesty having assembled the greatest Council of this Realm (and perhaps the wisest in the World) to consider of this point, more especially, it were Sawciness and Rudeness in any private or particular person to think he can order things better by his single Judgment, than the three Estates of the Kingdom can do in conjunction. And indeed one thing I am heartily glad of (and I think every wise and considerate person will be as glad of the same;) that our wise and honest Representatives are for laying the burden of those Payments upon Persons that are best able to contribute towards them, and those things, in which so much Money is so unnecessarily bestowed, not to say cast away and wasted: those things I mean which administer so much to our Pride and Luxury. For as by raising the Prices of those his Majesty will gain considerably for his necessary Expenses, so this will (in some measure) be a check to People's Folly, and Vanity and Excesses, and thus become a means to make the Nation more sober, temperate and industrious, and consequently by degrees move Almighty God to take his afflicting Hand off from us, when he sees us thus reformed and bettered by paying so dear for the maintenance of our light and vicious humours. And why we should deny to supply our more necessary, urgent and importunate occasions with part of that, which we are always so ready to bestow upon our Lusts, is unaccountable; unless we will carry on our Follies at the price of our destruction. No Man is so poor but can find Money for idle and needless Expenses, and in those spends more in a year, than he should pay for his share of the heaviest Assessment that has been this two or three Ages, and therefore has no just reason to complain, if part of that were exacted of him, and put to a better use: I mean for carrying on the great business of the Nation against our Enemies, and putting us once more into a capacity of being the Head and not the Tail of Europe. And why should we be behind hand with our Prince in any Offices of Kindness? Why should not we be as willing to raise his Glory, (in which we elevate our own too) as he to raise and confirm our Happiness? And happily we may be, if reason will persuade us, but so endeavour to be so. When his Majesty has done what he can for us, our own Consents must be had to our Felicity, because it can only be tendered us, and forced upon us. The continual success with which Almighty God has hitherto been pleased to bless and crown all his Enterprises both in War and Peace, may justly inspire us with good hopes of greater and better things yet kept in store for him and us, of better times and more glorious days after these Clouds and Storms; of joy and Comfort after those Plagues and Judgments we have so long laid under; and of so much the greater Happiness and Prosperity for the many years, in which we have suffered Adversity. His Majesty was never one of those (nor affected their ways and courses) that hunted after the vain glorious Praise and Applause of the World, and sought to raise their Thrones upon the Ruins of their People; he never sought to aggrandize his Name by any mean and pitiful, much less unjust and villainous Artifices; and therefore God has raised him to the highest step of human Grandeur and Glory by the gentle and indulgent Methods of his own Providence, the surest and safest guide in the World. Whilst such as run mad after Fame and desired to eternize their Memories by Violence and Injustice, and raising Combinations in the World, shall be remembered indeed, but only as that malignant, who out of that principle laid the stately Fabrick in *Asia*, and one of the Wonders of the World, in ashes; and is ever since thought and spoken of with Detestation and Curses only; and consequently had better be buried in eternal Silence and Oblivion.

F I N I S.

